

T H E A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For S E P T E M B E R, 1788.

Three letters from an European traveller in America, to his friend in London : written in the year 1785.

LETTER I.

DEAR SIR,

TH E national events that have taken place since I saw you, lead me to imagine, that you have not wholly forgotten what were my political sentiments at the time when I left England. I never was enthusiastic enough to imagine myself possessed of a prophetic spirit. However, with respect to the issue of the American war, if my arrow was cast at random, you are yet my witness, that it has not hit wide of the mark. The idea of my country's ruin had long impressed my mind. And this, when I embarked for America, made the farewell peculiarly affectionate. In whatever company or employ I was engaged, the idea of American glory was in view, until it was painted on my mind, even to a charm. And the moment I set my foot on the shore, I embraced it for my own. And as such, the public interest has ever since had my passions at command ; my joy has ebbed and flowed, with the complexion of the times. Had I been a native of America, I could not have felt a stronger attachment to her welfare. Sick of the manners of my country, and European fashions at large, I thought of nothing in America, but simplicity of life, industry, economy, and the noblest patriotism. This I frankly confess was the fruit of an over-heated imagination : for experience has since supplied the defect of reason, and taught me the mistake.

I at first landed at Philadelphia, where I was introduced to such elegance, grandeur, and opulence, as I had no idea of on this side of the Atlantic. But as I have had for many years a growing aversion to the city, and have long since been anticipating the pleasures of a rural life, I made no long stay, but soon retired to the interior parts of the country.

As I had determined by travelling to acquaint myself with the people, of whom I had formed such an idea, I conceived it a natural dictate of prudence, to accomplish this in the first stage of my American existence : that, being free from local prejudices, and having gained a more universal acquaintance, I might be better able to make a judicious choice, with respect to a settlement. In prosecuting this plan, my opportunity in the study of human nature, has been considerable, and I trust not wholly unimproved. Be the improvement, however, what it may, I will risk this thesis, as the result of a careful enquiry : that human nature is the same in England and America. At this observation I doubt not you will smile, and say the man is recovered of his insanity. I readily confess my prejudice in favour of America ran high—too high for me to draw an impartial character. I have waited long to feel myself cool on the subject : but whether long enough, you will better judge from the sequel of my letters. The people of America are hospitable—they are sociable—they are brave, as what I conceived—they are sensible and discerning to admiration : which has fully convinced me, that popular governments are the most friendly to mental improvements. Freedom will raise, and bondage will sink the powers of the human mind. And the same person, in this difference of situation, will make a very different figure in the world. Witness the black and the white people in this country. The colour has not made the odds ; shift their situations—let the black man be master, and the white, servant—and a few generations would turn the scale of sensibility.

The country, as to fertility, and variety of produce, fully answers my expectations. And as to extent and settlement, it exceeds my imagination, warm as it was.

The laws are generally good ; but

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somewhat fail in punctuality of execution. The debt contracted by the war, is not, as you imagined, any way formidable: the resources of the country, I find abundantly sufficient to discharge it. Nor does the union of the states, or disposition of the people at large, threaten a failure. If there is any deficiency in this respect, it is for want of a suitable power in congress, to call forth these resources. The people are young and vigorous: their lands are liberal in the support of life and traffic—in particular, they are exceedingly well-furnished with the materials of ship-building, at which the people are skilful. This branch of business produces a commodity so vendible in Europe, so important the world over, that, if vigorously pursued, it would of itself, in no lengthy period of time, discharge the greater part of the debt.

I was bred, like yourself, in the midst of great distinctions—where, with but the glance of an eye, might be seen the most striking contrast of wealth and poverty. In America it is not so: there is an equality here, which, to an European, would be matter of wonder. In the country, it is usual for every man to be settled on his own plantation; and he is lord of whatever his deed covers; he knows nothing of the exorbitant demands either of tyrant, bishop, or landlord. Notwithstanding the rise of taxes, occasioned by the war, they are yet light compared with yours. They croud not, as in England, upon the necessities and comforts of life; but leave the industrious labourer in full possession of both. Back from the sea-coast, they are generally farmers; they retire from the field at night, with an appetite created by moderate exercise; this gives a peculiar relish to their food and drink, which are plain and wholesome, but not rich. Being strangers to intemperance and luxury, and with their senses unimpaired by the fare of high life, they appear to take all the satisfaction the world affords.

As I travel, I often from choice take lodging with this class of men, and from their table of plain diet, am more pleased and refreshed, than I should be at an entertainment of a lord in England. For here, though

it be hard to give a reason, I participate with them in the appetite and relish. Here I behold simplicity of manners, without mixture of formality—and an honest-hearted generosity, without the disagreeable shew of court parade. Here liberty appears to be more than a speculative ideal thing; it is a reality. It discovers itself in the behaviour and countenance of these men; their whole deportment is different from one that has been bred to fawn at a monarch's feet, or one whose interest wholly depends on keeping his landlord in humour. I trust you will not think me frantic in this observation; for in your own speculations on human nature, you must have observed the command which the mind has over the features and deportment of the man. Does not the melancholy soul wear a wrinkled brow? does not the thief, without speaking, confess his guilt? and why are not the slaves of lord and monarch in like manner visible?

From the intimacy and unreserved freedom I have had in your company, you are sensible that I am no enemy to matrimonial connexions. The situation, circumstances, and manners of my country, are what have so long confined me to a celibic life. I never could feel it duty, to be instrumental in introducing my own species to that which was so disagreeable to myself. My soul has often recoiled at the idea of being father to one who should be a tenant to a lord, or a vassal to a tyrant. But methinks these objections are removed, and I begin to feel the force of duty and inclination without opposition. You will, therefore, not be surprised, should you soon hear of my forming a very serious acquaintance with one of these farmers' daughters. For on all accounts, I must prefer their education and manner of life, which is for the most part neat, frugal, and industrious. They are persons of good humour; nor has their taste ever been corrupted by the follies and fopperies of the city; though at the same time, they are no strangers to good breeding. I have many motives to this choice in particular. I consider the disposition in a great measure formed by early example; and the different callings that employ mankind, are not without

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their influence in this respect. The cruder undergoes that shift of fortune and shift of passion to which the farmer is not exposed : hence these employments are not alike friendly to that calmness of disposition which is the main pillar in the support of conjugal happiness. Let a person be brought up in a family, where the domestic affairs are conducted in a choleric manner, and where peevishness in the heads, is frequently seen triumphant over reason, and it is a wonder if the disposition does not hence receive a disagreeable tincture. And the same observation may be made with regard to other defects in human life : it is in this way that family vices are propagated, and handed down from parent to child, and from child to grand child, not only to their own reproach, but to the great detriment of civil society. I am therefore governed in this matter, not so much with a view to my own happiness, as the good of a rising family : where the mother, as the more constantly resides, must have a principal hand in forming the children either to virtue or vice. The mother of a family I consider as the open book, from which the children take the lesson of life. And of what interesting concern is it, then, to these tender minds, that the lesson be good, founded on morality, and suited to attemper the disposition, both to private happiness and public usefulness ? It would not be strange, if by this time you begin to wonder at my freedom : indeed I am surprised at it myself, especially on a subject of this delicate nature. At first I thought only to have started the idea, but have been led insensibly to the above observations. However, you would readily pardon me, had you been witness to that which of late has so captivated my mind. I have often, with respect to happiness of life, built castles in the air : I have often allowed my imagination to rove uncontrolled on the subject : and as often have my judgment and experience dashed the airy bubble, and convinced me that the whole was an ideal thing, not capable in its nature of being reduced to practice. Here among the farmers of America, I behold the happiness of life exemplified beyond whatever reason or observation taught me before.

For some days past, I have taken my route farther back in the country than heretofore, which has led me into a territory as yet but thinly inhabited. Here, where I am passing plains, intervals, and mountains, I meet with nothing to disturb my reflection. The soil, I observe, is exceedingly good, and in every point of view inviting to the husbandman. Never did I feel such compassion for the vassals of lord and monarch as now. Can it be that so many millions of the human race should drag out the miserable remains of life, ignorant that there is any part of the world that will better support them ? Can there be such inhumanity in the great, as to build their grandeur, and support their luxury upon the toil of their fellow-mortals, when the wilds of America invite them to liberty, and where a few years' industry would raise them to a state of opulence and independence !

In these woods, I now and then pass a log-house, around which there are considerable improvements, proportioned no doubt to the proprietor's industry and time of settlement. I often call and enquire into their welfare, and question them on the proficiency they make on their new plantations. I came last evening to one of these habitations : it was earlier in the day than I would have wished to put up ; but fearing lest night might overtake me in the wilderness, or lest I might not find an house that promised so good accommodation, I asked for entertainment, which was readily granted. The family seemed pleased to have an opportunity of waiting on a stranger. My landlord, when he returned from the field at night, discovered the same good humour in his countenance : he bid me welcome to his house, and to his table of plain diet, which was soon made ready. He informed me, that it was not more than six years since the first stroke was struck on his farm ; and he had then between fifty and sixty acres cleared—kept an handsome stock—raised his own wool and flax—had always, after the first year, a surplusage of grain—made his own meat—his own dairy—and his own apparel. Indeed, the economy in the house appeared to resemble that without.—

While the father, with a little child on his knee, was giving me this account, the mother with the daughters were about their domestic employments. Each one in the family filled his own place, and contentment and satisfaction reigned through the whole. After family prayer, which was religiously attended, I retired to my lodging, with a disposition better suited to reflexion than sleep. I fancied myself to have fallen upon a discovery, after which the sages of antiquity had sought in vain; and that here in the wilderness, I had found in what the greatest happiness of life consisted: for here was religion without colour of superstition—here was civil and religious liberty in perfection—here was independence, as far as the nature of human life would admit—here fulness was enjoyed with retirement—and the whole shut out from the noise and bustle of the world. After we arose in the morning, my landlord invited me to a walk in the field, where I saw the effects of industry united with the best economy. And finding him to be a very affable, sensible man, I asked him a number of questions; among the rest, whether he could give any account how far those wilds were habitable, and whether the soil in general was in any measure to be compared to the spot on which he was settled. This question introduced the following narration which he gave me: A friend of his, with two others, a few years before, set out with a determination to penetrate the western wilderness, as far as prudence should direct. They travelled fifteen days for the most part on a westerly line, without discovering the least trace of any human creature. The wild beasts would often start before them: of these, there was a great plenty and a great variety; among which their fire-arms contributed much to their amusement, as well as support. On the afternoon of the fifteenth day, when they had travelled not less than three hundred miles from any inhabitants, they unexpectedly discovered a large plantation under the best improvement. In the midst of this appeared a stately elegant building, in the English fashion. With joy they hastened to the gate of the high-yard, which surrounded this seat. The por-

ter that stood sentinel, understood from signs their desire of admittance—carried their request, and soon returned with liberty of admission. They were received into the family, where they had all the marks of hospitality shewn them; but were not admitted that night to speak with the master of the house. In the morning, they were invited to his apartment, in an upper loft, where, in addition to their joy, they found him to be a man of their own colour, and one who spoke their own language. He sufficiently apologised for not waiting on them the evening before. The reason was, his being employed in preparing a packet for Quebec, with respect to the fur-trade, over which he presided in that quarter of the world. The history of the man in a few words, is this: when a child, he was bound an apprentice to a gentleman in Albany, with whom he lived, till he was nineteen years of age; when his master's severity growing intolerable, he privately left him, with a determination to seek a retreat in the wilderness, beyond the search or information of his master. On his route, he arrived at a small village of the natives, with whom he associated, and with whom, after a few years, he was connected in marriage. This, with other circumstances, procured him the confidence, service, and entire obedience of that people, by whose labours he brought under improvement, a tract of land which almost bounded the eye. He was a man of no education—could neither read nor write, which proved a very material disadvantage to his trade. To remedy this defect, he sent his eldest son to Quebec, who was there furnished with an education sufficient to transact his father's business, both among French and English. His plantation furnished his numerous family with all the necessaries of life in great abundance: nor did his trade contribute less to its conveniences. Thence in this remote part of the wilderness, was enjoyed almost every thing the world affords, and nothing, (as he observed) was wanting to complete the happiness of his situation, but a small circle of friends with whom he might use his native language, and spend the vacant hours of life. After these men had travelled upwards of an

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hundred miles further, nearly in the same direction, they returned, with observing that the whole of this newly explored region was an exceedingly rich soil, and by far the most level and beautiful of any part of America that had come within their knowledge.

At the close of this conversation, I found myself possessed of a strange mixture of feelings. My pity, gratitude, and joy ran high, so as not a little to disturb that steadiness of mind, which, if possible, I would discover under all occurrences of life. I could not do less than cross the Atlantic in imagination, and drop a tear of pity on those I had left behind—many of whom were ignorant that there was any such opening as this on the globe; or, if known, have yet been so long confined in slavery, as to feel no inclination or resolution to shake off the chain and make the noble adventure. I could not but have a grateful sense of the divine goodness, in preparing such a spacious retreat for the poor and oppressed of mankind, and discovering it in an age of the world, when it was never more needed. I could not likewise but feel a joy in the rising glory of America. What a foundation is here for a great, lasting, and happy empire! In no part of the world, was there ever a greater number of natural circumstances, which united to promise the event; and perhaps in no part so many of a moral kind. Here is no want of territory—nor is there want of matter on which to ground the best civil policy. The history of the world is before them, the public virtues and vices of every nation are laid open to their view—their rise and fall, with the operating causes, are carefully noticed, especially those of their mother country, now on the decline, which must be fresh in mind, and I trust will ever prove a lesson of the most salutary instruction. These, among many, are some of the natural reasons that excite my joy. And with modesty may I not attempt the moralist, so far as to observe, that as this is the greatest quarter of the world and the last in discovery, we may here rationally expect the last and greatest works of the Deity? I mean those which are to be accomplished in the golden age. From some cause or other, I am ir-

resistibly inclined to believe, that this is the hemisphere on which the morning of that day will first dawn, and shine back from west to east till the light and knowledge of the Saviour shall illuminate the world. Will not this, at least in part, be a fulfilment of his own words—that the last shall be first, and the first last? And to strengthen the idea, may I not bring to view, the prophetic description of that approaching day? for is not this the wilderness and solitary place that shall be made glad, and the desert that shall blossom as the rose? But whether this be the effect of fancy or not, I leave you to judge, and subscribe myself, your most obedient, humble servant, &c.

[To be continued:]

Letters on marriage. Ascribed to the rev. John Witherspoone, D. D. president of Princeton college.

[Continued from page 108.]

LETTER III.

S I R,

I Have not yet done with the maxims on matrimonial happiness; therefore observe,

4. That it is not by far of so much consequence, what are the talents, temper, turn of mind, character, or circumstances of both or either of the parties, as that there be a certain suitability or correspondence of those of the one to those of the other.

Those essay writers, who have taken human nature and life as their general subject, have many remarks on the causes of infelicity in the marriage union, as well as many beautiful and striking pictures of what would be just, generous, prudent, and dutiful conduct, or their contraries, in particular circumstances. Great pains also have been taken to point out what ought to be the motives of choice to both parties, if they expect happiness. Without entering into a full detail of what has been said upon this subject, I think the two chief competitors for preference, have generally been—good nature and good sense. The advocates for the first, say, that as the happiness of married people must arise from a continual interchange of kind offices, and from a number of small circumstances, that occur every

hour, a gentle and easy disposition—a temper that is happy in itself—must be the cause of happiness to another. The advocates for good sense say, that the sweetness of good nature is only for the honey-moon; that it will either change its nature, and become sour by long standing, or become wholly insipid; so that if it do not generate hatred, it will at least incur indifference or contempt; whereas good sense is a sterling quality, which cannot fail to produce and preserve esteem—the true foundation of rational love.

If I may, as I believe most people do, take the prevailing sentiments within the compass of my own reading and conversation, for the general opinion, I think it is in favour of good sense. And if we must determine between these two, and decide which of them is of the most importance when separated from the other, I have very little to say against the public judgment. But in this, as in many other cases, it is only imperfect and general, and often ill understood and falsely applied. There is hardly a more noted saying than that a man of sense will never use a woman ill, which is true or false according to the meaning that is put upon the phrase, using a woman ill. If it be meant, that he will not so probably beat his wife, as a fool, that he will not scold or curse her, or treat her with ill manners before company, or indeed that he will not so probably keep a continual wrangling either in public or private, I admit that it is true. Good sense is the best security against indecorums of every kind. But if it be meant, that a man of sense will not make his wife in any case truly miserable, I utterly deny it. On the contrary, there are many instances in which men make use of their sense itself, their judgment, penetration, and knowledge of human life, to make their wives more exquisitely unhappy. What shall we say of those, who can sting them with reflexions so artfully guarded that it is impossible not to feel them, and yet almost as impossible with propriety to complain of them?

I must also observe, that a high degree of delicacy in sentiment, although this is the prevailing ingredient when men attempt to paint refined felicity

in the married state, is one of the most dangerous qualities that can be mentioned. It is like certain medicines that are powerful in their operation, but at the same time require the utmost caution and prudence, as to the time and manner of their being applied. A man or woman of extreme delicacy is a delightful companion for a visit or a day. But there are many other characters which I would greatly prefer in a partner, or a child, or other near relation, in whose permanent happiness I felt myself deeply concerned. I hope no body will think me so clownish as to exclude sentiment altogether. I have already declared my opinion upon this subject, and also my desire that the woman should be the more refined of the two. But I adhere to it, that carrying this matter to an extreme is of the most dangerous consequence. Your high sentimentalists form expectations which it is impossible to gratify. The gallantry of courtship, and the *bienveillance* of general conversation in the *beau monde*, seem to promise what the downright reality of matrimony cannot afford.

I will here relate a case that fell within my own observation. A person of noble birth had been some years married to a merchant's daughter of immense fortune, by which his estate had been saved from ruin. Her education had been as good as money could make it, from her infancy: so that she knew every mode of high life as well as he. They were upon a visit to a family of equal rank, intimately connected with the author of this letter. The manner of the man was distinguished and exemplary. His behaviour to his lady was with the most perfect delicacy. He spoke to her as often as to any other, and treated her not only with the same complacency, but with the same decency and reserve, that he did other ladies. To this he added the most tender solicitude about her not taking cold, about her place in the chamber, and her covering when going abroad, &c. &c. After their departure, the whole family they had left, excepting one, were two or three days expatiating on the beauty of his behaviour. One lady in particular said at last, 'Oh! how happy a married woman

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have I seen.' The single dissenter, who was an elderly lady, then said, 'Well, you may be right; but I am of a different opinion. I do not like so perfect and finished a ceremonial between persons who have been married five or six years at least. I observed that he did every thing that he ought to have done, and likewise that she received his civilities with much dignity and good manners, but with great gravity. I would rather have seen him less punctual, and her more chearful. If therefore, that lady is as happy in her heart as you suppose, I am mistaken; that is all. But if I were to take a bet upon it, I would bet as much on the tradesman and his wife, according to the common description, walking to church, the one three or four yards before the other, and never looking back.' What did time discover? that nobleman and his lady parted within two years, and never reunited.

Let me now establish my maxim, that it is not the fine qualities of both or either party that will insure happiness, but that the one be suitable to the other. By their being suitable, is not to be understood their being both of the same turn; but that the defects of the one be supplied or submitted to by some correspondent quality of the other. I think I have seen many instances, in which gravity, severity, and even moroseness in a husband, where there has been virtue at bottom, has been so tempered with meekness, gentleness, and compliance in the wife, as has produced real and lasting comfort to both. I have also seen some instances, in which sourness and want of female softness in a woman, has been so happily compensated by easiness and good humour in a husband, that no appearance of rankling hatred was to be seen in a whole life. I have seen multitudes of instances, in which vulgarity, and even illiberal freedom, not far from brutality, in a husband, has been borne with perfect patience and serenity by a wife, who, by long custom, had become, as it were, insensible of the impropriety, and yet never inattentive to her own behaviour.

As a farther illustration, I will relate two or three cases from real life, which have appeared to me the most

singular in my experience. I spent some time, many years ago, in the neighbourhood of, and frequent intercourse with, a husband and his wife in the following state. She was not handsome, and at the same time was valetudinary, fretful, and peevish—constantly talking of her ailments, dissatisfied with every thing about her, and, what appeared most surprising, she vented these complaints most when her husband was present. He, on the other hand, was most affectionate and sympathizing, constantly upon the watch for any thing that could gratify her desires, or alleviate her distresses. The appearance for a while surprized me, and I thought he led the life of a slave. But at last I discovered that there are two ways of complaining, not suddenly distinguishable by common observers: the one is an expression of confidence, and the other of discontent. When a woman opens all her complaints to her husband, in full confidence that he will sympathize with her, and seeking the relief which such sympathy affords, taking care to keep to the proportion which experience hath taught her will not be disagreeable to him, it frequently increases instead of extinguishing affection.

Take another case as follows: Syrisca was a young woman the reverse of a beauty. She got her living in a trading city, by keeping a small shop, not of the millinary kind, which is nearly allied to elegance and high life, but of common grocery goods, so that the poor were her chief customers. By the death of a brother in the East Indies, she came suddenly and unexpectedly to a fortune of many thousand pounds. The moment this was known, a knight's lady in the neighbourhood destined Syrisca as a prize for Horatio, her own brother, of the military profession, on half pay, and rather past the middle of life. For this purpose she made her a visit, carried her to her house, assisted no doubt in bringing home and properly securing her fortune; and in as short a time as could well be expected, completed her purpose. They lived together on an estate in the country, often visited by the great relations of the husband. Syrisca was good natured and talkative, and there-

fore often betrayed the meanness of her birth and education, but was not sensible of it. Good will supplied the place of good breeding with her, and she did not know the difference. Horatio had generosity and good sense, treated her with the greatest tenderness, and having a great fund of facetiousness and good humour, acquired a happy talent of giving a lively or sprightly turn to every thing said by his wife, or diverting the attention of the company to another subject. The reader will probably say, he took the way that was pointed out by reason, and was most conducive to his own comfort. I say so too; but at the same time affirm, that there are multitudes who could not, or would not, have followed his example.

I give one piece of history more, but with some fear, that nice readers will be offended, and call it a caricature. However, let it go. Agrestis was a gentleman of an ancient family, but the estate was almost gone; little more of it remained but what he farmed himself, and indeed his habitation did not differ from that of a farmer, but by having an old tower and battlements. He had either received no education, or had been incapable of profiting by it, for he was the most illiterate person I ever knew, who kept any company. His conversation did not rise even to politics, for he found such insuperable difficulty in pronouncing the names of generals, admirals, countries, and cities, constantly occurring in the newspapers, that he was obliged to give them up altogether. Of ploughs, waggons, cows, and horses, he knew as much as most men: what related to these, with the prices of grain, and the news of births and marriages in the parish and neighbourhood, completed the circle of his conversation.

About the age of forty, he married *Lenia*, a young woman of a family equal to him in rank, but somewhat superior in wealth. She knew a little more of the strain of fashionable conversation, and not a whit more of any thing else. She was a slattern in her person, and of consequence there was neither cleanliness nor order in the family. They had many children; she bore him twins twice, a circumstance of which he was very

proud, and frequently boasted of it, in a manner not over delicate, to those who had not been so fortunate in that particular. They were both good natured and hospitable; if a stranger came, he was made heartily welcome, though sometimes a little incommoded by an uproar among the children and the dogs, when striving about the fire in a cold day; the noise was however little less dissonant, than the clamours of *Agrestis* himself, when rebuking the one, or chastizing the other, out of complaisance to his guests. This couple lived many years in the most perfect amity by their being perfectly suitable the one to the other, and I am confident not a woman envied the wife, nor a man the husband, while the union lasted.

It is very easy to see from these examples, the vast importance of the temper and manner of the one being truly suitable to those of the other. If I had not given histories enough already, I could mention some in which each party I think could have made some other man or woman perfectly happy, and yet they never could arrive at happiness, or indeed be at peace with one another. Certainly, therefore, this should be an object particularly attended to in courtships, or while marriage is on the tapis, as politicians say. If I look out for a wife, I ought to consider, not whether a lady has fine qualities for which she ought to be esteemed or admired, but whether she has such a deportment as I will take continual delight in, and such a taste as gives reason to think she will take delight in me; I may pitch too high, as well as too low, and the issue may be equally unfortunate. Perhaps I shall be told there lies the great difficulty: how shall we make this discovery? In time of youth and courtship, there is so much studied attention to please, from interested views, and so much restraint from fashion, and the observation of others, that it is hard to judge how they will turn out afterwards.

This I confess to be a considerable difficulty, and at the same time greatest upon the man's side. The man being generally the eldest, his character, temper, and habits may be more certainly known. Whereas there are sometimes great disappointments on

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the other side, and that happily both ways. I am able just now to recollect one or two instances of giddy and foolish, nay of idle, lazy, drowsy girls, who, after marriage, felt themselves interested, and became as spirited and active heads of families, as any whatever, and also some of the most elegant and exemplary, who, after marriage, fell into a languid stupidity, and contracted habits of the most odious and disgustful kind. These instances, however, are rare, and those who will take the pains to examine, may in general obtain satisfaction. It is also proper to observe, that if a man finds it difficult to judge of the temper and character of a woman, he has a great advantage on his side, that the right of selection belongs to him. He may ask any woman he pleases, after the most mature deliberation, and need ask no other; whereas a woman must make the best choice she can, of those only who do or probably will ask her. But with these reflexions in our view, what shall we say of the inconceivable folly of those, who, in time of courtship, are every now and then taking things in high dudgeon, and sometimes very great submissions are necessary to make up the breaches? If such persons marry, and do not agree, shall we pity them? I think not. After the most serene courtship, there may possibly be a rough enough passage through life; but after a courtship of storms, to expect a marriage of calm weather, is certainly more than common presumption; therefore they ought to take the consequences.

On the whole, I think that the calamities of the married state are generally to be imputed to the persons themselves in the following proportion—three-fourths to the man for want of care or judgment in the choice, and one-fourth to the woman on the same score. Suppose a man had bought a farm, and, after a year or two, should, in conversation with his neighbour, make heavy complaints how much he had been disappointed, I imagine his friend might say to him, did you not see this land before you bought it? O yes; I saw it often. Do you not understand soils? I think I do tolerably. Did you not examine it with care? Not so much as I should

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have done; standing at a certain place, it looked admirably well; the fences too were new, and looked exceedingly neat; the house had been just painted a stone colour, with paneling; the windows were large and elegant; but I neglected entirely to examine the sufficiency of the materials, or the disposition of the apartments. There were in the month of April, two beautiful springs, but since I have lived here, they have been dry every year before the middle of June. Did you enquire of those who had lived on the place, of the permanency of the springs? No, indeed; I omitted it. Had you the full measure you were promised? Yes, every acre. Was the right complete and valid? Yes, yes, perfectly good. No man in America can take it from me. Were you obliged to take it up in part of a bad debt? No, nothing like it. I took such a fancy for it all at once, that I pestered the man from week to week to let me have it. Why really, then, says his friend, I think you had better keep your complaints to yourself. Curling and fretfulness will never turn stones into earth, or sand into loam; but I can assure you, that frugality, industry, and good culture, will make a bad farm very tolerable, and an indifferent one truly good.

I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,
EPAMINONDAS.



A series of letters on education.

[Continued from page 111.]

LETTER III.

DEAR SIR,

THE theory laid down in my last letter, for establishing an early and absolute authority over children, is of much greater moment than, perhaps, you will immediately apprehend. There is a great diversity in the temper and disposition of children; and no less in the penetration, prudence, and resolution of parents. From all these circumstances, difficulties arise, which increase very fast as the work is delayed. Some children have naturally very stiff and obstinate tempers, and some have a certain pride, or, if you please, greatness of mind, which makes them think it a mean thing

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to yield. This disposition is often greatly strengthened in those of high birth, by the ideas of their own dignity and importance, instilled into them from their mother's milk. I have known a boy not six years of age, who made it a point of honour not to cry when he was beat even by his parents. Other children have so strong passions, or so great sensibility, that if they receive correction, they will cry immoderately, and either be, or seem to be, affected to such a degree, as to endanger their health or life. Neither is it uncommon for the parents in such a case to give up the point, and if they do not ask pardon, at least they give very genuine marks of repentance and sorrow for what they have done.

I have said this is not uncommon, but I may rather ask you whether you know any parents at all, who have so much prudence and firmness as not to be discouraged in the one case, or to relent on the other? At the same time it must always be remembered, that the correction is wholly lost which does not produce absolute submission. Perhaps I may say it is more than lost, because it will irritate instead of reforming them, and will instruct or perfect them in the art of overcoming their parents, which they will not fail to manifest on a future opportunity. It is surprising to think how early children will discover the weak side of their parents, and what ingenuity they will shew in obtaining their favour or avoiding their displeasure. I think I have observed a child in treaty or expostulation with a parent, discover more consummate policy at seven years of age, than the parent himself, even when attempting to cajole him with artful evasions and specious promises. On all these accounts, it must be a vast advantage that a habit of submission should be brought on so early, that even memory itself shall not be able to reach back to its beginning. Unless this is done, there are many cases in which, after the best management, the authority will be imperfect; and some in which any thing that deserves that name will be impossible. There are some families, not contemptible either in station or character, in which the parents are literally and properly obedient to their children, are forced to do things against

their will, and chidden if they discover the least backwardness to comply. If you know none such, I am sure I do.

Let us now proceed to the best means of preserving authority, and the way in which it ought to be daily exercised. I will trace this to its very source. Whatever authority you exercise over either children or servants, or as a magistrate over other citizens, it ought to be dictated by conscience, and directed by a sense of duty. Passion or resentment ought to have a little place as possible, or rather, to speak properly, though few can boast of having arrived at full perfection, it ought to have no place at all. Reproof or correction given in a rage, is always considered by him to whom it is administered, as the effect of weakness in you, and therefore the demerit of the offence will be either wholly denied or soon forgotten. I have heard some parents often say, that they cannot correct their children unless they are angry; to whom I have usually answered, then you ought not to correct them at all. Every one would be sensible, that for a magistrate to discover an intemperate rage in pronouncing sentence against a criminal, would be highly indecent. Ought not parents to punish their children in the same dispassionate manner? Ought they not to be at least equally concerned to discharge their duty in the best manner, in the one case as in the other?

He who would preserve his authority over his children, should be particularly watchful of his own conduct. You may as well pretend to force people to love what is not amiable, as to reverence what is not respectable. A decency of conduct, therefore, and dignity of deportment, is highly serviceable for the purpose we have now in view. Lest this, however, should be mistaken, I must put in a caution, that I do not mean to recommend keeping children at too great a distance, by a uniform sternness and severity of carriage. This, I think, is not necessary, even when they are young; and it may, to children of some tempers, be very hurtful when they are old. By and by you shall receive from me a quite contrary direction. But by dignity of car-

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riage, I mean parents shewing themselves always cool and reasonable in their own conduct; prudent and cautious in their conversation with regard to the rest of mankind; not fretful or impatient, or passionately fond of their own peculiarities; and though gentle and affectionate to their children, yet avoiding levity in their presence. This, probably, is the meaning of the precept of the ancients, *maxima debet pueris reverentia*. I would have them cheerful, yet serene. In short, I would have their familiarity to be evidently an act of condescension. Believe it, my dear sir, that which begets esteem, will not fail to produce subjection.

That this may not be carried too far, I would recommend every expression of affection and kindness to children when it is safe, that is to say, when their behaviour is such as to deserve it. There is no opposition at all between parental tenderness and parental authority. They are the best supports to each other. It is not only lawful, but will be of service that parents should discover the greatest fondness for children in infancy, and make them perceive distinctly with how much pleasure they gratify all their innocent inclinations. This, however, must always be done when they are quiet, gentle, and submissive in their carriage. Some have found fault with giving them, for doing well, little rewards of sweet-meats and play-things, as tending to make them mercenary, and leading them to look upon the indulgence of appetite as the chief good. This, I apprehend, is rather refining too much: the great point is, that they be rewarded for doing good, and not for doing evil. When they are cross or froward, I would never buy peace, but force it. Nothing can be more weak and foolish, or more destructive of authority, than when children are noisy and in ill humour, to give them or promise them something to appease them. When the Roman emperors began to give pensions and subsidies to the northern nations to keep them quiet, a man might have foreseen, without the spirit of prophecy, who would be master in a little time. The case is exactly the same with children. They will soon avail themselves of this easiness in their

parents, command favours instead of begging them, and be insolent when they should be grateful.

The same conduct ought to be uniformly preserved as children advance in years and understanding. Let parents try to convince them how much they have their real interest at heart. Sometimes children will make a request, and receive a hasty or a froward denial; yet upon reflexion the thing appears not to be unreasonable, and finally it is granted; and whether it be right or wrong, sometimes, by the force of importunity, it is extorted. If parents expect either gratitude or submission for favours so ungraciously bestowed, they will find themselves egregiously mistaken. It is their duty to prosecute, and it ought to be their comfort to see, the happiness of their children; and therefore they ought to lay it down as a rule, never to give a sudden or hasty refusal; but, when any thing is proposed to them, consider deliberately and fully whether it is proper—and after that, either grant it cheerfully, or deny it firmly.

It is a noble support of authority, when it is really and visibly directed to the most important end. My meaning in this, I hope, is not obscure. The end I consider as most important is, the glory of God in the eternal happiness and salvation of children. Whoever believes in a future state, whoever has a just sense of the importance of eternity to himself, cannot fail to have the like concern for his offspring. This should be his end both in instruction and government; and when it visibly appears that he is under the constraint of conscience, and that either reproof or correction are the fruit of sanctified love, it will give them irresistible force. I will tell you here, with all the simplicity necessary in such a situation, what I have often said in my course of pastoral visitation in families, where there is in many cases, through want of judgment, as well as want of principle, a great neglect of authority. "Use your authority for God, and he will support it. Let it always be seen that you are more displeased at sin than at folly. What a shame is it, that if a child shall, through the inattention and levity of youth, break a dish or a pane of the window, by which you may lose

the value of a few pence, you should storm and rage at him with the utmost fury, or perhaps beat him with unmerciful severity; but if he tells a lie, or takes the name of God in vain, or quarrels with his neighbours, he shall easily obtain pardon; or perhaps, if he is reproved by others, you will justify him, and take his part."

You cannot easily believe the weight that it gives to family authority, when it appears visibly to proceed from a sense of duty, and to be itself an act of obedience to God. This will produce coolness and composure in the manner, it will direct and enable a parent to mix every expression of heart-felt tenderness, with the most severe and needful reproofs. It will make it quite consistent to affirm, that the rod itself is an evidence of love, and that it is true of every pious parent on earth, what is said of our Father in heaven: "whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons: for what son is he whom the Father chasteneth not? But if ye are without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons." With this maxim in your eye, I would recommend, that solemnity take the place of, and be substituted for severity. When a child, for example, discovers a very depraved disposition, instead of multiplying stripes in proportion to the reiterated provocations, every circumstance should be introduced, whether in reproof or punishment, that can either discover the seriousness of your mind, or make an impression of awe, and reverence upon his. The time may be fixed before hand—at some distance—the Lord's day—his own birth-day—with many other circumstances that may be so special that it is impossible to enumerate them. I shall just repeat what you have heard often from me in conversation, that several pious persons made it an invariable custom, as soon as their children could read, never to correct them, but after they had read over all the passages of scripture which command it, and generally accompanied it with prayer to God for his blessing. I know well with what ridicule this would be treated by many, if publicly

mentioned, but that does not shake my judgment in the least, being fully convinced that it is a most excellent method, and that it is impossible to blot from the minds of children, while they live upon earth, the impressions that are made by these means, or to abate the veneration they will retain for the parents who acted such a part.

Suffer me here to observe to you, that such a plan as the above, requires judgment, reflexion, and great attention in your whole conduct. Take heed that there be nothing admitted in the intervals that may counteract it. Nothing is more destructive of authority, than frequent disputes and chiding upon small matters. This is often more irksome to children than parents are aware of. It weakens their influence insensibly, and in time makes their opinion and judgment of little weight, if not wholly contemptible. As before I recommended dignity in your general conduct, so in a particular manner, let the utmost care be taken not to render authority cheap, by too often interposing it. There is really too great a risk to be run in every such instance. If parents will be deciding directly, and censuring every moment, it is to be supposed they will be sometimes wrong, and when this evidently appears, it will take away from the credit of their opinion, and weaken their influence, even where it ought to prevail.

Upon the whole, to encourage you to choose a wise plan, and to adhere to it with firmness, I can venture to assure you, that there is no doubt of your success. To subdue a youth after he has been long accustomed to indulgence, I take to be in all cases difficult, and in many impossible; but while the body is tender, to bring the mind to submission, to train up a child in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, I know is not impossible: and he who hath given the command, can scarcely fail to follow it with his blessing.

I am, &c.

[*To be continued.*]

THE VISITANT.

[*Continued from page 181.*]

No. IV. *On politeness.*

TO render an action the object of complete approbation, it must

not only be good in itself—it must likewise be performed in an handsome manner. Decency should attend virtue inseparably; and we should endeavour to verify the opinion of Cicero—that they cannot be disjoined from one another, but in idea. Every sentiment, which we feel, has a mode of expression natural to it; whether we respect our voice, our words, our features, or our gestures.

The sentiment and the expression appropriated to it, are joined together in our imagination, by that principle, which produces the association of ideas. Being accustomed to see them together, we form in our minds, a connexion between them; when one appears, we expect the other to follow it; and though it does not, we still imagine it to exist.

It is remarkable, that when two ideas are associated in the imagination, we communicate, to the attendant idea, the qualities of that, on which it depends. Because sceptres are borne by kings, we annex the idea of grandeur to that of a sceptre. When a sash is used by people of quality, we think it genteel. The same sash, when it is dropt by the quality, and taken up by the peasants, we consider as clownish and vulgar.

From these principles arises the rule of politeness; which I define to be, the natural and graceful expression of the social virtues. By means of the former principle, we look on politeness, as connected with those sentiments and dispositions, which it represents. By means of the latter, we bellow on it the agreeable qualities, of which those sentiments and dispositions are possessed.

Considered in this view, politeness is indeed amiable. It is an accomplishment, which every one should be desirous to attain. What can be more engaging, than the dispositions it expresses? What can be more pleasing, than its manner of expressing them? Our tempers, formed for society, render us susceptible of the most exquisite delight, or of the most exquisite pain, from the conduct, which those we are conversant with, shew towards us. In proportion, therefore, as the savage wretch will restrain, who beholds our distresses with an unfeeling indifference, and

our pleasures with a sullen insensibility; in the same proportion must he be amiable, whose every action—whose every word—whose every gesture discovers that his sympathetic breast beats time with ours; and that every emotion, which is raised in us, excites a correspondent one in him. Half the miseries, which we complain of, as the unavoidable portion of human life, might be prevented—and those, which cannot be prevented, might be alleviated—our enjoyments might be multiplied—and the pleasure, which arises from them, might be increased—were we but as attentive, as we should be, to the situation of those, who are born under the same conditions with ourselves. Men are not naturally wolves to men: they were made to assist, not to devour one another.

Politeness may be practised on every occasion; and assumes different forms, according to the different circumstances of time, place, and persons. It accommodates itself to the church, to the play-house, to a ball. In company, in business, in amusement—it is never unreasonable. If conversation is instructive, politeness embellishes it; though it is trifling, politeness makes it tolerable. A man of sense, who is morose and uncomplying, is more disagreeable than a person of inferior abilities, but of elegant manners.

It is of importance to distinguish politeness from a pretender, which sometimes assumes its appearance, but arises from a very different source. The pretender, I mean, is suppery. A man of politeness expresses, in an handsome manner, the emotions he feels. A fop piques himself upon counterfeiting the natural expression of passions, of which his unfurnished soul is unsusceptible. When a polite man makes a bow, he discovers his respect—when he congratulates the fortunate, he only speaks the concordant sentiments of his own heart; when he commiserates the unhappy, he only utters the genuine declarations of compassion and humanity. A fop, on the contrary, will take an opportunity of shewing the skill of his dancing-master, by bowing to you with a studied formality, while he secretly hates you: he will pour forth the son-

rent of congratulatory phrases, which he has taken pains to learn by rote, while he envies your success; he will lament your misfortunes in an awkward form of condolance, and will laugh at them, as soon as he is gone from your presence. He is an hypocrite in politeness; and should meet with the contempt, that all hypocrites deserve.

But in no instance is the difference between a polite man and a fop more striking, than in their conduct towards the ladies. The delicacy, the timidity, the beauty of the fair sex, require that they should be respected, protected, caressed. They were designed an help-meet for man; and every principle of honour demands that they should not be losers by those, for whom they were made—that they should be treated with all imaginable tenderness by those, to whom something would still be wanting in creation, without this last—best gift of heaven. A man of politeness is sensible of those things; and his whole behaviour to the fair discovers that he is so; but it makes this discovery in a manly and unaffected manner. He can praise a lady's beauties, without using the word—angel; and can make love to her, without expressing himself in a strain of adoration. These low arts he thinks unworthy of him; as he would the lady, who is silly enough to be captivated with them. These are the arts, however, by which the fop flourishes. He has been told, that “flames,” “darts,” “die,” “language,” are mighty pathetic words; and that they are sufficient to soften the heart of the most obdurate fair. He has been told likewise, that it reflects honour upon a man to be on good terms with the ladies. Hence that superabundance of fulsome impertinence, which the weak part of the female sex so much admire, and which the sensible part of it so much despise. The vain coquette thinks it inexpressibly pretty to be praised from morning till night; and to hear the gentlemen talk in eternal raptures of her charms. Little does she consider, that those, who address her in this manner, do so, only because they think it pleases her; and that those, who think it pleases her, must have but a very ordinary opinion of her

understanding; and, of consequence, must, in reality, entertain sentiments concerning her, very different from those, which they express, and which she is weak enough to believe sincere, when she hears them expressed. This will be the case, at least with a man of sense, who sometimes sports away an idle hour in her company. The fop, indeed, will not make any remarks on her character; for he wants discernment: but as he flattered her only to be thought well-bred, and to do himself honour—not her; he will leave her, when he has finished his tale of compliments; and will, perhaps, take the first opportunity of gratifying the ill-nature usually found in little minds, by saying as many spiteful things of her, as he can invent.

As there are some, who aim at politeness, without giving themselves any trouble to acquire and cultivate those good qualities, with which it is connected, and from its connexion with which, it derives its beauty and merit; so there are others, who possess those good qualities, and even call them forth vigorously into action, while they despise and neglect that politeness, which adorns them. An aversion to that extreme, which I have already animadverted upon, has, perhaps, produced the other, which I am now going to expose. But this is very far from being a sufficient justification of it. One may easily avoid ostentation, without falling into moroseness; and there is no necessity of commencing a cynic, in order to preserve one from the imputation of being a fop. There is a mean betwixt the disagreeable characters. This mean should be observed; and when it is observed, it will be applauded.

If a man is generous, it is foolish in him to destroy the merit of his generosity: and yet I have known a favour conferred in such an ungainly manner, as to leave it in great doubt, whether the person, on whom it was bestowed, ought rather to have felt gratitude for the kindness shewn him, than resentment for the indignities, with which that kindness was attended. Good offices, performed in this manner, are more likely to create enemies, than to gain friends. What shall we assign as the reason of this odd conduct? Shall we account for it by

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Philadelp February 22

ATTICUS.

[Continued from page 115.]

No. III. Remarks on dissipation.

"Look inwards, and turn over
 "yourself, for you have a lasting
 "mine of happiness at home, if you
 "will but dig for it."

MARCUS ANTONINUS.

saying, that those, who observe it, have a mind to try what effects generosity, unassisted by the adventitious properties of complaisance, will operate upon those, in whose favour it is exercised? This will, by no means, prove such conduct to be reasonable. I observed, in the beginning of this paper, that our imaginations form a connexion between those things, which we see usually joined. Now incivility usually springs from disregard or contempt. If, therefore, we observe the former, what is more natural, than to infer the latter from it? And, if we are convinced of the latter, what, again, is more natural, than to resent it? The blame of such resentment, then, will fall rather on him, who occasions it, than on him who feels it. Why should we slip virtue of her charms? why should we shew her in an unamiable light? are her votaries too numerous? is their love to her too great?

On the other hand, when a person adorns his generosity with politeness—when he discovers, by his delicate manner of granting a favour, his sense of the merit of him, on whom it is conferred, and that he deserves to be placed above the reach of good offices of this nature—how must he, who is the object of so much goodness and respect, burn with love and gratitude to his kind benefactor? How must he be pleased to receive all the effects of generosity, separated from the mortifications, with which it is sometimes accompanied?

It would be easy to trace, and to describe politeness as it appears in the outward forms and ceremonies of behaviour; in the choice and management of conversation; and in many other instances; which I shall, perhaps, enlarge upon in some future paper. I shall, at present, content myself, with having discoursed generally of its nature; of the principles, on which it is founded; and of the beautiful lustre it reflects upon those virtues, from which it derives its merit. C.

Philadelphia,
 February 22, 1768.

I Was lately in a company, where several farmers were present: the conversation ran upon the folly of setting out in life, in a manner too expensive for the circumstances, or without a rational prospect of sufficient income for support. I learned from the honest countrymen, that it is a frequent practice for servants and apprentices, as soon as they are out of their time, to run in debt for a showy horse, a fine saddle, a watch, and other unnecessary things. If this was all, little need be said about it, though as health is not at their command, they might from thence take a hint to be cautious; but much worse consequences commonly attend such extravagance, besides the grievance which the horses become to the husbandman who hires the owners, as in compliance with a foolish custom, he keeps them with little or no abatement of wages for it. The young fellows are not content to have these things, without shewing them. Hence, parties of pleasure are formed, taverns and dram-houses are frequented, and the time which ought to be employed in labour to pay their debts, is wasted in contracting new ones: idleness and drinking, horse-racing, wagering, and other methods of dissipation, become habitual, and total ruin and destruction ensue. Much of the business of attorneys and justices, it seems, arises from this source, and thus many who might become valuable members of society in their stations, instead thereof, are, in several respects, public nuisances, intail beggary and misery upon their families, while themselves often rot in jails! What is the remedy? "Examples may teach, where precepts fail." The conversation above mentioned furnished heads for describing the following cases, from which some instruction may be reaped—when or where they happened, need not to be very particularly described. One sum-

mer, two farmers, who lived at some distance from this city, came to it, and each of them purchased from on board a ship just arrived, a servant lad: the boys were nearly of the same age; and for distinction I shall call them Sam Sharp, and Thomas Wary; happily for the latter, as their acquaintance began on ship-board, it ended with leaving her, by their masters' situations being in different parts of the country.

Sam was witty and smart, without much good nature, or any principles of religion, or at least if he had any of the latter, it had not its proper effect upon his manners. His showy parts were the means of gaining him the acquaintance of several dissolute fellows in the neighbourhood, who often persuaded him from his master's business to the tavern, to be entertained with his satirical stories or idle songs. This could not long be borne by the master, with impunity; reproof and correction followed, but without the desired effect. However, Sam, somehow or other, got through his service; and when he became a free man, the advantages of a likely person, and a sprightly turn of conversation, obtained him a wife with some money, and qualities which merited a more deserving partner. He would not yet abandon his associates; they continued to revel in his company, and often at his expence. The impetuosity of his temper engaged him in several law-suits. In a short time he was reduced to be, what is very properly called, worse than nothing, that is, he was more in debt than he was worth. After trying several scandalous and wretched expedients to procure credit, he was hurried to a jail, at many miles distance from his distressed wife and helpless infants; there he plunged as deep into debauchery as he could. The poor woman, oppressed with difficulties, died (probably) of a broken heart, leaving her offspring to the humanity of her neighbours. Sam, when capable of reflection, had the stings of remorse afresh, sharpened by repeatedly hearing of the misconduct and sufferings of his children for want of the protection and assistance of their parents, and after long enduring all the miseries of a confined and guilty prisoner, he perished there.

Thomas Wary had not the same brightness of capacity nor agreeableness of person with Sam Sharp, but he had common sense, which he diligently improved by such helps as his situation furnished—in a word, he became a truly religious man. His religion taught him, that it was more blessed to give than to receive. This was a spur to his industry and frugality; it at the same time furnished his heart with proper motives to such acts of kindness and benevolence as were in his power. Thomas served out his time with the applause of his master and the family, and when free, he married a young woman with the same happy turn of mind. He rented a small farm, and with steady diligence, and great care to live within his earnings, in a few years, with the fairest character, he purchased a fine tract of land, educated a numerous posterity in the same principles, settled them reputably, and in decent plenty, and died in a good old age, beloved by his acquaintance, revered by his children, and lamented by the poor, to whom he had been liberal with his advice and other necessary assistance.

From these instances, which are not produced as any thing very uncommon, my young readers may learn, that the advantages of a comely person and a bright understanding, if not accompanied with religion and prudence, may only become snares for their ruin, whilst with those excellent guides, plain persons and common sense, they may attain to great usefulness and reputation: add to this, the consideration of the horror and fearful looking-for of a final judgment, which perpetually haunts and follows the dissolute and wicked—and the peace of soul and glorious hope of divine approbation in a future state, which ever accompanies good actions, and the examples and arguments acquire infinitely more importance.

Philadelphia, April 5, 1767.



On the mischievous effects of militia laws.

1. **THEY** draw off our citizens from agriculture and manufactures, and thereby tend to impoverish our country. It is computed that

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the state of Pennsylvania lost, by her late militia law, three hundred thousand pounds a year, by the time employed by her citizens in militia exercises.

2. They subject our citizens to a heavy expence in uniforms—side arms—and in some cases—parade horses.

3. They lead our young men into company where they lose their innocence, and carry home in exchange for it, the vices of swearing and drinking.

4. They beget idleness in women and children, who generally croud to see militia shows.

5. They produce a system of oppression to persons of tender consciences, and open a door to fraud and speculation where they are enforced by fines and forfeitures.

6. They cherish the spirit of war, which is always unfriendly to the arts of peace.

I know it will be said, that the only way to prevent war, is to be always prepared for it. But do militia exercises answer this purpose? Is not the military knowledge acquired in this way, too much diffused to do any good? Do not these exercises exhibit the form, only, without any of the power of war? "The late American revolution (says a celebrated French officer) shews the folly of all military establishments in the time of peace—for in a few weeks, a nation of mechanics and farmers became generals, officers, and soldiers, and finally vanquished one of the oldest military nations in Europe."

Our distance from Europe will always give us notice enough of the approach of war to prepare for it. While a single copy of the history of the misfortunes and defeats of the armies of Great Britain in America, exists in the world, it is highly probable no nation in Europe will ever think of transporting soldiers across the Atlantic ocean for the purpose of making war upon the united states. The ocean is the only place on which America will be compelled to defend her independence, should a rage for conquest lead any of the nations of Europe to disturb her.

It is the error of our politicians to apply European maxims in war and government, to the united states. We

are a new nation. Our origin—local circumstances—principles and manners have no parallel in the history of mankind. Let us first discover who—and what—and where we are, and we shall soon be able to discover how to govern ourselves.

There is no danger of our citizens forgetting the use of arms, while we are strangers to game-laws. A youth of sixteen years of age, who has been trained by necessity or choice, to the amusement of hunting in our American woods, has a better foundation laid for his becoming an effective soldier, than a whole nation of farmers who have been educated (from the operation of game-laws) in an ignorance of fire arms.

POMPILIUS.

Philadelphia, July 26, 1783.

Further remarks on militia laws.
To Pompilius.

THERE is nothing more surprising or true, than that a man may live all his life in the most profound ignorance of many subjects, when no other reason can be assigned for such oblivion, than barely his not taking the trouble to think with a little more exertion of mind, reflexion, and liberality than is commonly bestowed on the various objects of our attention and admiration. Habits and early prejudices, unfortunately for the race of mankind, have a wonderful effect on our thoughts, and the formation of our minds, inso much that the annals of the world abound with multiplied instances, which fully evince that a bad custom, or an unorthodox point of faith, will take a thousand years to wear off.

For my part, I candidly confess, that the idea of what we call a well-regulated militia (a term made use of by every body who does not understand its nature in a republican government) has always been an object of my desire, and the thoughts of getting such a one, has administered the utmost comfort to my mind; as at first view, it appears not only to be a hand-maid, but the sole support of equal liberty, as well as a natural defence to my country. And although I have been a witness to scenes of intemperance and debauchery at our muster days, yet I never had a thought that

a greater reform could; in the nature of things, take place, than to have a better regulation in our militia law.

But, sir, on reading your few observations, and giving the subject a fair, cool, and deliberate consideration, I begin to stagger in my opinion, and doubt the necessity of militia laws: at any rate, I do not hesitate a moment in concluding, that your remarks are grounded on facts, reason, morality, and religion.

It is now become a melancholy sight, to behold the shocking scene of a battalion day. In the country, there is not an idle old man, woman, child, or negro, that does not resort to this place of rendezvous; the young men appear on the parade (just to answer and save their fines) with clubs instead of guns, and their officers dare not reprove them. You will, if the field where they pretend to exercise, is large enough, see not less than fifty booths erected, in open violation of law and good order, for the purposes of selling spiritous liquors: and you will often also see the officers sitting under them, and drinking grog, which gives no small countenance to such illicit practices.

By five o'clock in the afternoon, mostly all who are lovers of strong drink, are as full as the money and credit they brought from home, can make them; and the rest of the day and evening is taken up in horse-racing, drunkenness, profane swearing, quarrelling, and fighting. And it is a sad truth, that we see young boys, not twenty years of age, who have had the advantage of a religious education, from this shocking school of vice and immorality, turn out profligate wretches, before they arrive to a state of manhood.

There has an incredible revolution taken place in the minds of the people of this country since the late war: I can well recollect the time when the very report of an unlicensed person selling spiritous liquors by small measure, gave universal alarm: and the best men of the neighbourhood made it a business immediately to lodge informations. Also, if any men would dare to bring a few cakes and liquor to a vendue, or any other public place to sell, a magistrate, if he should

happen to be present, would go, protected by all the reputable people there, and disperse them; but since the muster days, those legal schools of wickedness and immorality have been in fashion. I have seen a justice of the peace, who attempted to do his duty in a muster-field, abused and obliged to make his escape by a private retreat; nay, I observed, that even men, from whom better conduct ought to have been expected, have taken part against the officer, by saying that they ought to be allowed to regale themselves on such occasions, and that the booths were very convenient for the men after standing under arms; so that we see that the frequent sight of bad practices, by becoming familiar, even corrupts good men.

The subject which you have now entered on, is certainly worthy of being pursued farther; and I could, even from my late reflexions, say many more things in favour of the six positions you have laid down—but I decline it; the task at present seems to be your's to enlighten the minds of those who may be mistaken or prejudiced in favour of foreign and imported ideas—therefore go on with the laudable business you have undertaken; it is too important to stop here; this is a glorious time for deliberation and reflexion—universal harmony now reigns among us—political discord itself scarce shews its head in this peaceful land; so that there is ample time for free thought and debate: and certainly if militia laws, contrary to what you assert, are necessary, they will not suffer, but gain by a liberal discussion; for there are plenty of advocates—some from principle, and more from interest, that will appear in their favour.

If you can, in the course of your reasoning on this subject, inform us with any degree of certainty, how and in what manner our frontiers are to be defended against the savages, with safety to the liberties of the citizens of the united states, I make no doubt but where your ideas now have one opponent, they must then have a thousand advocates.

A militia officer.

Philadelphia, August 12, 1782.

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Memorial of the quakers of Pennsylvania, against the militia law.

To the gen. assembly of Pennsylvania.

The memorial of the religious society of the people called quakers in Pennsylvania,

Respectfully sheweth.

THAT we think it seasonable at this time to lay before you our sense of the unchristian principles and injurious effect of the militia law, under which we, as a religious body, peculiarly, have been long sorely aggrieved; prompted thereto, not only by an attachment to our just right to religious freedom, but also by an unfeigned love to the true foundation and wholesome order of civil government, which we are desirous to promote and strengthen, by every means consistent with our duty toward God and toward man.

On occasions so essential to human well-being, as well as on all other, it undoubtedly becomes sincere believers in Christ faithfully to adhere, both in doctrine and practice, to his holy example and precepts; and in the fear of God, to maintain the christian liberty of asserting the rights of conscience, whenever a practical observance of the peaceable principles of the gospel is made penal by human law; and although, when unreasonably and grievously oppressed by such laws, it is our duty with meekness and patience to suffer the persecutions permitted for the trial of our faith, yet it is also a duty we owe to God and man, not to suffer a slavish fear of human power and authority to suppress our christian testimony against such invasion of God's prerogative, who must be acknowledged the alone sovereign and arbiter of conscience.

Called on, therefore, by a regard to the honour of the christian name—by a desire for the happiness of the present and future generations, and a concern for the reputation of our country, wherein freedom, the common rights of men, and liberty of conscience, are so loudly professed, we hold it incumbent on us to suggest to you, who are in the exercise of the powers of government, our apprehensions how much the tenor and tendency of the militia law, enforced with much rigour for a number of

years, and continued as a sword, not for the punishment of evil doers, but in great measure, if not for the most part, in the hands of rapacious men, to the distressing a sober, inoffensive, and useful part of the community, is opposite to the nature and spirit of the christian religion, which enjoins, as a fundamental thereof, that harmless principle of good, which alone can overcome evil, and effectually promote and spread "peace on earth, and good will towards men."

Very few of the serious and religious professors of faith in Christ, we believe, will contend that such laws are reconcilable with the peaceable spirit of his divine law and government; and though some of these suffer themselves to be overborne with the specious arguments of political necessity in time of war, yet men of this character are rarely to be found willing to have any hand in the execution of such laws, which so directly strike at tender consciences, more especially, if in time of peace they should be continued as engines of oppression: hence it follows, that men, unfit to be trusted in a righteous and equal government, are invested with a very mischievous degree of power, many of whom are willing to embrace an opportunity, under colour of law, to make a prey and spoil of their unoffending neighbours, of which there are numerous and flagrant instances. These are facts too well known to need the support of more particular evidence, being the fruits naturally to be expected from the spirit and tenor of the militia law, now, or late, in force in this government; to say nothing more of its injurious tendency and operation in a political view, than as it is promotive of idleness, revelling, and a distaste for the sober and useful occupations of life, and therefore subversive of real virtue, and of course civil harmony.

We trust we are entitled to the quiet enjoyment of our civil and religious rights, equal with any other christian community, not doubting but that it will be allowed by men of impartial observation and candour, of all denominations, that no other have more uniformly contributed to the promotion and support of the public weal, or been less concerned in stirring up strife,

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animosity or sedition, to the disturbance of the tranquility of any government under which, in the course of providence, we have been placed, it being our unvaried principle and practice, as a religious body, to manifest our disunion with all such disorderly conduct and proceedings; and though on this account, and for our patient adherence to our christian testimony against wars and fightings, we have been the objects of much malignant misrepresentation and abuse, it has not been our practice to return reviling for reviling, knowing that a willingness to forgive others is the best evidence of the rectitude of our own hope of forgiveness.

In whatever light we may be viewed through the discolouring medium of human politics, having reason to believe we have never, as a people, justly forfeited our claim to the friendly and candid attention of the reasonable and well disposed among all classes and descriptions of men, we cannot doubt but we have an equal right with any other body of people among whom we live, to offer for consideration what we believe so nearly concerns the religious and civil welfare of our country, and, with due respect to the authority of government, to represent with that christian firmness, which is afforded under a religious sense of duty, how opposite a spirit of intolerance is to both.

Our predecessors, who, under severe persecutions in their native countries, had given indubitable proofs of their sincerity and stability in their christian principles, and their persevering reliance on divine protection and support therein, manifested their high estimation of liberty of conscience, by foregoing almost all other worldly comforts for the enjoyment of it in this land, then a wilderness, which they settled; and being, with others, entrusted with the powers of government, exercised the same with a consistent regard to the religious freedom of every professor of belief in "one eternal and Almighty God, Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world; and who held themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in society;" all, without distinction of names, being protected in the uninterrupted enjoyment of liberty of con-

science, whereby they gave incontrovertible evidence of the equity of their claim thereto, and of the universal benevolence of the spirit of government they were actuated by; an unprejudiced regard to the salutary effects whereof is well worthy the recollection, and cannot, we think, fail of engaging the close consideration of a wise and virtuous government at this day, which we desire may be verified in the effects of your christian attention thereto, not on our account only, but because we are well assured the happiness of every branch of civil and religious community is equally interested therein.

If to do unto all men, as we would they should do unto us, be really a compendium of social righteousness—if to love our neighbour as ourselves—to do justly and love mercy—be admitted as certain characteristics of both public and private virtue—if this equitable view be suffered to govern in a legislative enquiry into the nature of the militia law of this government, our religious society, and the public, may expect to be relieved from the unreasonable burden.

We therefore earnestly entreat you may so seek for the direction of that wisdom, which is pure, peaceable, full of mercy and good fruits, as to manifest, by a removal of this oppression, your just sense, that it is impartial righteousness exalteth a nation. Being, with sincere desires for your substantial honour, as rulers rightly discerning and faithfully attached to the sure means of supporting the dignity of your eminent station,

Your real friends.

Signed on behalf, and by direction of a meeting of the representatives of the said people called quakers, held in Philadelphia, the sixteenth day of the second month, 1786.

JOHN DRINKER, clerk.



Address to the friends of religion, morality, and useful knowledge.

THE united states of America, having at length escaped the impending dangers of anarchy, and having accomplished those restraints on licentiousness, which are necessary to the attainment and preservation of ge-

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ruine liberty, the governments of the several states are left at leisure to pursue those means of internal prosperity, in their respective affairs, which will bring into use and operation the various qualities and capacities of their territories and their people. An object of this nature, in our apprehension, of the first importance to Pennsylvania, calls for the immediate and unremitting attention of her legislature, and of every friend of liberty and virtue. In a serious attempt to remove an evil, and to obtain a great good, it will not be supposed that any thing disrespectful can be intended towards those, whom it is the declared intention to serve. We may therefore proceed, without apprehension, to treat of the subject in that plain manner which is necessary to obtain our end.

The propagation of useful knowledge among the citizens of Pennsylvania, who are of German birth or extraction, has become a matter of the first necessity, and can no longer be neglected in duty to those valuable people themselves, nor to the public at large. In order perfectly to understand the magnitude of this subject, and to shew our suspended advantages in a conspicuous point of view, it will be necessary to go into some reflexions on the history and present state of the nation, from which part of them have descended, and in which the remainder were born.

We are informed by the Greek and Roman historians, that the Germans, long before the birth of our Saviour, were lovers of liberty, of a martial spirit, and of singular fidelity. In later times they are described, by the accurate and judicious Tacitus, as magnanimous, beneficent, and unambitious; and though he terms them high spirited, and ardent pursuers of their just resentments, yet he assures us, they were slow to offend. Such are our earliest accounts of these people; from which it appears, that even in their primitive state, the writers of proud and hostile nations have ascribed to them qualities most glorious to a people, and most honourable to individuals.

The history of modern times, particularly of the three last centuries, evinces, that these respectable qualities of the Germans are not lost. To

the zeal and firmness of Martin Luther, Christendom is considerably indebted for the extension of the blessings of religious light and liberty. William the third, of England, a prince of German descent, wrested the sceptre of Britain from the hands of a bigot and a tyrant, effected a glorious revolution in religion and government, and laid the foundation of that perfect liberty which we now enjoy. The illustrious house of Brandenburg, through a succession of princes, were the great instruments of preserving the protestant church on the continent of Europe; and the present emperor of Germany, born a catholic, has magnanimously pursued the same design, by granting, of his own accord, to his protestant subjects, a general toleration. Such have been some of the useful exertions of the Germans, in the greatest operations in favour of religious and civil liberty.

The illustrious Frederic of Prussia, eminently distinguished in the useful arts, in elegant literature and science, stands unparalleled in arms: Puffendorf, as a great citizen of the world—and Handel, who may be considered as the genius of music in human shape, surpasses every competitor in all other countries. To these we might add, a Van Swieten, a Leibnitz, an Hierischel, an Euler, a Gesner, a Klopstock, and a long list of names, great in divinity, morals, physic, law, literature, and every art and science.

The efforts of industry and genius in the German nation have been successfully applied to subjects of the most useful and curious nature. Among the several proofs of their disposition and capacity for such pursuits, are the invention of gun-powder, by which the superiority of the European nations over those of the other parts of the world, has been, through several centuries, principally maintained; and that of type-founding, to which, above any other cause, are owing our deliverance from ignorance and error, the revival of learning, the progress and communication of the arts and sciences—or, to sum up the whole in a few words, the present happiness and dignity of mankind. Nor have the Germans been deficient in a commercial spirit, nor in wisdom to conduct it with safety

and advantage, though possessed of fewer and less convenient seaports than any great nation of Europe which has ever been respectable for foreign trade. The Hanseatic league was the greatest, the most curious, regular, and wise combination for the promotion of commerce, that the world has ever beheld. While the cities engaged in it, obtained all the benefits of domestic and foreign trade, for which they associated, they afforded an happy asylum for religious and civil liberty, and became the masters of the ocean.

In order to judge of the inducements to the benevolent and patriotic to exert themselves in the affairs of our German fellow-citizens, let us examine their present situation in Pennsylvania, and compare it with the picture exhibited by their nation in ancient and modern Europe.

The first emigrants from that country arrived in Pennsylvania above a century ago. Being quickly rewarded for their singular industry, by the fruits of their labour accumulating under their hands, and enjoying perfect religious and civil liberty, they were constantly followed by many more, till they have become possessed of numerous and very valuable estates in every quarter of the commonwealth, and of the greater part of many townships and several counties. Having been generally drawn from the simplest and most common situations in their native country, and having emigrated, in most instances, with little, but an able body, and an industrious disposition, they have been obliged to apply immediately to laborious employments. In this situation, they had no time for education, and thought not much about it. Speaking a language different from those, who had greater advantages in regard to learning, they have been prevented from acquiring that information which every hour would otherwise have given them. Useful and necessary knowledge is indeed but little disseminated among them. A very large proportion of these valuable people are unable to compute by figures the value of their own property, or to read the laws of their country, which are all in the English language; some of them are unable to read the divine lessons of the holy scriptures, though

printed in the German language, whereby they lose a great part of the inestimable benefits of living in a time and country blessed with religious light. If they have made good parents, dutiful children, and valuable citizens, under these great disadvantages, how excellent must be their natural qualities and dispositions, and how valuable must they prove to society, if useful knowledge should be more generally diffused among them. Tho' depressed by adventitious circumstances the most unfavourable, as the citizens of German birth and extraction have evidently been, the history of religion, philosophy and physics, in Pennsylvania, furnishes no names superior to the pious and venerable Muhlenberg, the wondrously ingenious Rittenhouse, and the learned and judicious Kuhn.

No part of our community have manifested more valuable fixed characteristics than the body of whom we are treating. They are remarkable for genuine honesty, the most persevering and laborious industry, and the greatest frugality and simplicity in their modes of living. They are careful of their property, averse to being in debt, and therefore more free from that incumbrance than the British or Irish citizens. Of all our people, they are the least addicted to ardent distilled liquors. Endowed with a strong turn to the useful arts and manufactures, they have introduced them into the districts and towns which they inhabit, particularly the northern parts of Philadelphia, Germantown, Bethlehem, Reading, and Lancaster. They are remarkable for the faithful discharge of their taxes, their obedience to government, their strict observance of morality, and their sincere attachment to religion. Frugal, and free from debauchery in their habits of living, they can marry early, and do so with constitutions unimpaired by vice or luxury, wherefore they rapidly increase and multiply.

From this slight view of the ancient and modern character of the Germans, and of the emigrants from that country, now settled among us, we trust we are warranted in affirming, that the Germans are a rich mine of wealth to the state of Pennsylvania. The valuable ore lies deep. It re-

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quires industry and skill to extract it from the bowels of the earth, and to refine it in that degree which is necessary to prepare it for the convenient, the useful, and the elegant purposes for which a benevolent providence has evidently designed it.

The true method of promoting the prosperity of nations, is, to make every exertion which can bring into use and operation the various capacities and qualities of their people and their territories. That much may be done in this way in regard to our German fellow-citizens, must be as visible to every Pennsylvanian as the shining sun in his meridian. Yet it may not be amiss to point out some of the advantages which will result from successful exertions to this great purpose. The lovers of mankind will enjoy the pure delight of seeing the mass of human happiness increased, by the introduction of greater light among a large and meritorious body of their fellow creatures. As morals and religion naturally follow useful knowledge, the friends of virtue and mankind will receive that further gratification. Talents of various kinds, which now lie uselessly wrapt up, as it were "in a napkin," will then be easily drawn forth to bless the strongminded honest German and his family, and to increase the powers and riches of the state. The innumerable treatises in their native language upon manufactures, agriculture, law, physic, divinity, the circle of the sciences, and all the arts of peace and war, with which the empire of Germany really abounds, are now shut up to very many, whose native strength of mind, aided by the simplest education, might lead them to the most useful and important researches and discoveries. Were German reading, writing, and cyphering only familiar and universal among them, a correspondence with their European relations might easily be maintained, which would tend to promote emigrations to this their land of Canaan, beyond any other measure that could be pursued. The friendly country which had received them poor, lowly, and uninformed, and had in a short time made them rich, enlightened, and powerful, would hold out abundant and irresistible temptations to their European re-

latives, connexions, and friends. The tide of emigration from Germany, *that manufactory of men*, which has for some time been at a stand, would begin to flow in upon us again, and would probably rise to a height far above what it had ever reached before; nor would it be in the power of the wisest and most benevolent of the German princes, by the most generous treatment and the best concerted measures, to prevent its course. They might render the situation of their subjects as comfortable as they could, but their prodigious numbers, and their consequent want of profitable employment and room, with the impossibility of their rising at home much above the condition in which they were born, would render the success and happiness of their countrymen in America powerful inducements to their emigration. But it cannot be supposed that every German-prince would have wisdom enough to see, and moderation and goodness enough to pursue, the permanent interest and happiness of his state (that is, of his successors and posterity, as well as of himself) when it might require an immediate sacrifice of the revenues he enjoys, or a reduction of the expence and parade of his court. Many, no doubt, would be blind to their true interests; and many others, though they clearly perceived them, would, from personal vices, pursue their wonted course. From this suggestion of the effects that might be produced in Europe, by our cultivation of the talents of our German fellow-citizens, there arises a reflexion highly gratifying to our benevolence and our honest pride. It is next to certain, that the apprehensions of emigration in the minds of the German princes, will occasion them to reflect on this dangerous consequence of their civil and religious oppression, and that from evident policy, though not from inclination, they may extend to their innumerable subjects a portion of that tenderness, attention, and justice which they have long and cruelly denied them.

There is one more consideration of the first importance to induce the propagation of useful knowledge among the Germans in Pennsylvania. They are become so very numerous and wealthy, that they must, in all future

times, return to our legislature and to our executive offices a considerable proportion of the members. Our elections are very frequent, and by ballot, our electors free and equal, and no qualifications but local residence and citizenship are requisite in the elected. In a government so democratic, it is necessary that the citizens should possess an uncommon portion of information. It is dangerous that they should be uninformed. Their tickets may be changed at the door of the house of election, if they cannot read them. They will be constantly deceived by artful and designing men, and they must remain without that treasure of information, which is found in the newspapers of a free country. Thus far of the electors. Equally and indeed much more serious is the danger of a want of due knowledge in those who may be elected. On this we shall not enlarge. Though we have had several excellent, and very many worthy German members of our public bodies, yet there have been others not sufficiently informed, and we must not be unmindful of the real danger to liberty, property and peace, from a representative or executive officer who wants the necessary qualifications of wisdom and knowledge. Disseminate more useful knowledge among the body of Germans, and let those of them, who have abilities or property, cultivate and adorn their minds by liberal educations, and they will furnish us with as respectable and proper rulers as the descendants and emigrants from any other nation upon earth. In a future essay we may consider how we shall most advantageously pursue the delightful task of propagating necessary and useful knowledge, learning, and science, among our numerous German fellow citizens.

PHILANTHROPOS.

A dialogue between a sword and a hoghead of spirits.

Sword. SO, mr. Spirits, I find you have lately usurped an honour, which was conferred originally upon me—that of being the first messenger of death to the human species. Pray, sir, by what arguments do you support your claims above mine? Am

I not the most ancient, and the most universal destroyer of mankind?—Have I not been the instrument, in the hands of Alexander, and Cæsar, and ten thousand other military butchers, of filling up vallies and creating mountains, by means of the bodies of dead men? Do I not act in a variety of ways? For whether human life is destroyed by means of a lance, a pike, a hanger, a bullet, a shell, a cannon ball, or a mine, it is all effected by my means: for the sword, by a usual figure in rhetoric, is made to signify them all. Besides producing this mortality, am I not the cause of all the distress, poverty, desolation and slavery, which have appeared in every age, and in every country upon the face of the earth?

Hoghead of spirits. I shall not dispute about the antiquity of our origin, mr. Sword, although I have some reason to believe, as I shall say hereafter, you would gain nothing by a controversy upon that point. As to the universality of your dominion over human life, I deny that it is equal to mine. You destroy men only, but I destroy men, women, and children. Yes, the ladies in every part of the world yield to the seduction of spiritous liquors. I call it seduction—for I generally overcome them, by first exciting in them a love for bitters before dinner, or for remedies against the cholic or low spirits, both of which are generally prepared by infusions in spirits. As for children, I destroy them, by persuading their parents that a dram of raw rum or whisky is necessary for them every morning, to keep the fog out of their throats, and thereby to prevent their getting the fever and ague. But further, you destroy life in one season of the year, and in the day time only, but I keep up a destructive campaign during every month of the year; and such is the attachment of many people to me, that after having served them as a cordial during the day, I perform the office of a pillow, and administer to them destruction every hour of the night. As to the monuments you have erected in every part of the world, they do not contain half the number of dead bodies which I have from time to time conveyed, by means of distilleries, to the different grave-yards in

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every part of the globe. I admit the various shapes by which you have effected the destruction of mankind; but in answer to this, give me leave to mention the different names and forms by which I have spread misery and death over the world. Rum, whisky, brandy, gin, stinkibus, bitters, toddy, grog, flings, and fifty other liquors, all come under the denomination of spirits. It is your province to destroy life suddenly, and only in one way. But I kill gradually, and in an hundred different ways. When I act by means of stinkibus (alias New-England rum) or rye-whisky, fresh from the still, my patients generally live only two or three years; but when I make choice of old Jamaica, or Antigua, as instruments of death, they sometimes exist seven or eight years. I permit this, by the bye, only to spread the seeds of death more extensively; for persons of slender observation ascribe the death of these people to other causes. I said that I kill in a hundred different ways. Yes, half the diseases of the human body are produced by spirits. The jaundice and dropsy, sore eyes and sore legs, a burning in the soles of the feet, fits of various kinds, gout, melancholy and madness, want of appetite and digestion, and many other complaints, for which I cannot give you the technical names, are all brought on by my influence upon the human-body. You boast of the distress, poverty, desolation and slavery, which you have brought upon mankind; but what are all these to the evils which follow in my train? Wherever I go, all the calamities you have mentioned, together with the jail, the wheel-barrow, and the gallows, crouch before me for customers. Factions and rebellions originate with me, especially in the united states; for they are both hatched in still-houses, and low taverns, before they appear in newspapers and in mobs. I create domestic broils and family disputes; and lastly, even war and murder are often the offspring of spiritous liquors. You began, mr. Sword, by boasting of your antiquity. You were invented by Tubal Cain, and first used by Nimrod. But I claim an origin not only more ancient, but much more honourable. The still, the worm, and the cooling tub, were all the in-

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vention of a prince, more ancient than Adam, and more intelligent than the wisest man that ever lived upon the earth. Spiritous liquors are the current coin of his kingdom. They bear his image and inscription. They are the visible marks of his invisible power. The prince I allude to, is, the
—D E V I L.



Remarks on spiritous liquors.

I Highly applaud the zeal of the numerous advocates for beer and cyder; but I despair of their doing much good till they can extend the influence of their publications to the western parts of the state. In the neighbourhood of Pittsburgh almost every other farm has a still-house on it, where the people assemble, and drink away their health and estates. All the rye made in those parts is distilled into whisky, and wheat is often given in exchange for it. Plantations are often bought and sold for a certain number of barrels of whisky. Indeed, whisky in different quantities, like Montero's cap, in Trilram Shandy, is the *wager*—the *gift*—and, in some instances, the *cash* of three-fourths of the inhabitants of our western counties. In returning from that country, I passed through several of our German settlements in Lancaster and Berks counties, where I was surprised to find some German farmers infected with the pernicious custom of using whisky in their families.—Every morning a dram was handed round to each man, woman and child in the house, and so much have some of them become attached to it, that they mix it with cucumbers for their breakfast. I wish some steps could be taken to convince these people of the destructive tendency of these practices. If this cannot be done, let a duty of seven shillings and sixpence be laid upon every gallon of spirits, whether made in America or imported from the West-Indies.—Great-Britain has wisely banished national drunkenness from the island, by a duty of eight or nine shillings sterling upon every gallon of spirits.—Hence one cause of her industry, wealth and power. Unless we can imitate her in this respect, our nation must be extinct, or the human species D

degenerate among us, into creatures, that will unite in them all the bad qualities of men and beasts.

A Traveller.



Evil effects of the great consumption of spiritous liquors in America.

WHEN every person is complaining of the scarcity of cash, burden of taxes, and extravagance of living, permit an individual to state a fact which ought to make a nation blush. It appears by the returns of the excise collectors into the pay table office, that the people of Connecticut pay excise for almost 400,000 gallons of rum in a year! Every gallon of West India rum, which constitutes fourteen fifteenths of the whole that is drank, costs the consumer four shillings, consequently this state pays for rum annually about eighty thousand pounds. This calculation is founded on fact—and makes no allowance for vast quantities of spirit which are drank without excise, in evasion of the law. The interest of our national debt amounts to about sixty thousand pounds a year: our rum, therefore, a single useless article, costs us one quarter more than the interest of our domestic debt. For shame then, my countrymen, say no more about taxes! there are two gallons of distilled spirits to one soul, consumed in this state annually. Other states consume in the same proportion, and the greatest misery of the whole, is, that the poor people consume more than the rich. A labouring man must have his half pint or pint, every day, and at night takes half his wages in rum.

But the expence is not the only grievance; the injury to health and morals is certain—it is great—it is irreparable! Ask any candid physician, and he will tell you, that scarcely a man dies, whose life is not shortened by the use of this pernicious article. Go to a tavern, or a dram shop, and view a croud of poor people, whose families are starving and freezing at home, draining their pockets of the last penny to purchase a gill of rum. This is no uncommon sight: it happens every day, and in every town. In vain are we told that spirit is sometimes necessary. It is not necessary in the ordinary labour of life—it is

generally pernicious even in fatigue. Men, during the war, underwent the fatigue of harvest, and enjoyed more perfect health without a drop of spirits, than they now enjoy with as much as they can drink. Spirit is necessary sometimes, I allow. It is necessary as a medicine; just like opium, or jesuit's bark, and ought to be used with the same caution.

In vain are we told that rum costs us nothing but old horses, and not cash—this is the declaration of ignorance. Horses fetch money in the West Indies; and the money would come into the country, to pay our taxes, purchase farms, &c. were it not left to procure that curse of all curses, spirits. We have no way to get cash but by the West Indies. No articles we can send to Europe from the northern states, will furnish any considerable supply of money. If our old horses, therefore, our beef, our pork, and our lumber, are all our dependence for cash, what folly, what stupidity, what political and moral madness, is it, to consume all the profits of those articles in the beastly gratification of an appetite that disgraces a savage—in the purchase of an article which in general is of no use, which impairs reason, preys upon the health, and sinks that dignified animal, man, to a brute!

Our country supplies us with liquors, which are good enough for common use. Our cyder and malt liquors might render all spirits unnecessary.

In England, rum is six or eight shillings sterling a gallon. It pays a duty of four shillings, consequently few can buy it. The people there drink beer, which is a manufacture of their own—this is a healthy liquor—it furnishes poor people with employment—and all classes of people will drink it—this is English policy, and it is good. We might do the same, had we any continental power to impose uniform duties on importations. We might make spirit too dear for people to purchase—we might encourage, by bounties, the manufacture of malt liquors—we might thus raise a revenue to the public—supply ourselves with cash from the West-Indies—save the morals, the health, the lives, and estates of the inhabitants,

But this union of high du the tra hours public cause, our blu liberty, contine hand o grind th public o threate tion, u convict them re that we racy, w tinent, interest subject measure of many out a po and ney mighty man rac present Every and dau purchase ribands, opens h spiritous gewgaws when co of rum* savages, on their Their In their bad is a trifle mous use are we b

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But this cannot be done without a union of measures in the states; for high duties in one state alone, throw all the trade into the hands of her neighbours. In short, this and all other public evils may be traced to this one cause, a want of federal power. Let our blustering patriots clamour about liberty, and spout their jealousy of a continental government, until the hard hand of poverty and distress shall grind them, until the demands of our public creditors become serious, and threaten a civil war, or a foreign invasion, until dire experience shall force conviction to their minds. But let them remember what I now tell them; that we cannot exist long in confederacy, without a power over the continent, sufficient to silence the clashing interests of the different states, and subject them to one uniform system of measures. A great state, composed of many parts, never did exist without a power to controul the whole, and never can exist until God Almighty shall regenerate the whole human race, and elevate them above the present rank of mortals.

Every man complains that his wife and daughters impoverish him by the purchase of gauzes, of feathers and ribands. But where is the man that opens his mouth against the use of spiritous liquors? Gauzes and all the gewgaws which ladies wear, are trifles, when compared with the consumption of rum*. Let the ladies imitate the savages, if they please, in sticking upon their heads feathers and flowers. Their Indian finery may be a proof of their bad taste: but the expence of it is a trifle compared with the enormous use of spiritous liquors. What are we but a race of polished savages?

NOTE.

* This is not said to reflect upon 'the economical association,' or to insinuate that there is no necessity for the females to retrench their expences. They may do much to alleviate our distresses, and we admire the noble example set us by the association. We with permanent improvement of taste among the ladies. We believe there is room for it. But the foregoing remarks are meant to draw a comparison between male and female expences.

A Tuscarora will barter a township of land for a few beads and feathers, and a country girl among us will labour hard a week for a bunch of flowers. A tribe of Indians will barter all their territories and their furs for a keg of brandy; and there are many people in our gospel land who will sell the bread out of their mouths for a pint of rum. Alas! my friends! I wish reformation to you.

Z.
Newhavea, Dec. 7, 1786.

Speech of his excellency William Livingston, esq. governor of the state of New Jersey, to the legislature of that state, in the year 1777.

Gentlemen,

HAVING already laid before the assembly, by messages, the several matters that have occurred to me, as more particularly demanding their attention during the present session; it may seem less necessary to address you in the more ceremonious form of a speech. But conceiving it my duty to the state, to deliver my sentiments on the present situation of affairs, and the eventful contest between Great Britain and America, which could not, with any propriety, be conveyed in occasional messages, you will excuse my giving you the trouble of attending for that purpose.

After deploring with you, the desolation spread through this state by an unrelenting enemy, who have indeed marked their progress with a devastation unknown to civilized nations, and evincive of the most implacable vengeance—I heartily congratulate you upon that subsequent series of success, wherewith it hath pleased the Almighty to crown the American arms; and particularly on the important enterprize against the enemy at Trenton—and the signal victory obtained over them at Princeton, by the gallant troops under the command of his excellency general Washington.

Considering the contemptible figure they make at present, and the disgust they have given to many of their own confederates amongst us, by their more than Gothic ravages—(for thus doth the great Disposer of events often deduce good out of evil)—their irruption into our dominion will

probably redound to the public benefit. It has certainly enabled us the more effectually to distinguish our friends from our enemies. It has winnowed the chaff from the grain. It has discriminated the temporising politician, who, at the first appearance of danger, was determined to secure his idol, property, at the hazard of the general weal, from the persevering patriot—who, having embarked his all in the common cause, chooses rather to risk—rather to lose that all, for the preservation of the more estimable treasure, liberty, than to possess it—(enjoy it he certainly could not)—upon the ignominious terms of tamely resigning his country and posterity to perpetual servitude. It has, in a word, opened the eyes of those who were made to believe, that their impious merit, in abetting our persecutors, would exempt them from being involved in the general calamity. But as the rapacity of the enemy was boundless—their havoc was indiscriminate, and their barbarity unparalleled. They have plundered friends and foes. Effects capable of division, they have divided. Such as were not, they have destroyed. They have warred upon decrepit age—warred upon defenceless youth. They have committed hostilities against the professors of literature, and the ministers of religion—against public records, and private monuments, and books of improvement, and papers of curiosity, and against the arts and sciences. They have butchered the wounded, asking for quarter; mangled the dying, weltering in their blood; refused to the dead the rites of sepulture; suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance; violated the chastity of women; disfigured private dwellings, of taste and elegance; and, in the rage of impiety and barbarism, profaned and prostrated edifices dedicated to Almighty God.

And yet there are amongst us, who, either from ambitious or lucrative motives—or intimidated by the terror of their arms—or from a partial fondness for the British constitution—or deluded by insidious propositions—are secretly abetting, or openly aiding their machinations, to deprive us of that liberty, without which man is a beast, and government a curse.

Besides the inexpressible baseness of wishing to rise on the ruins of our country—or to acquire riches at the expence of the liberties and fortunes of millions of our fellow-citizens—how soon would these delusive dreams, upon the conquest of America, end in disappointment? For where is the fund to recompence those retainers of the British army? Was every estate in America to be confiscated, and converted into cash, the product would not satiate the avidity of their national dependents; nor furnish an adequate repail for the keen appetites of their own ministerial beneficiaries. Instead of gratuities and promotion, these unhappy accomplices in their tyranny, would meet with supercilious looks and cold disdain; and, after tedious attendance, be finally told by their haughty masters, that they indeed approved the treason, but despised the traitor. Insulted, in fine, by their pretended protectors, but real betrayers—and goaded with the stings of their own consciences—they would remain the frightful monuments of human contempt and divine indignation, and linger out the rest of their days in self-condemnation and remorse—and in weeping over the ruins of their country, which themselves had been instrumental in reducing to desolation and bondage.

Others there are, who, terrified by the power of Britain, have persuaded themselves that she is not only formidable, but irresistible. That her power is great, is beyond question; that it is not to be despised, is the dictate of common prudence. But then we ought also to consider her, as weak in council, and ingulphed in debt—reduced in her trade—reduced in her revenue—immersed in pleasure—enervated with luxury—and, in dissipation and venality, surpassing all Europe. We ought to consider her as hated by a potent rival, her natural enemy, and particularly exasperated by her impetuous conduct in the last war, as well as her insolent manner of commencing it; and thence inflamed with resentment, and only watching a favourable juncture for open hostilities. We ought to consider the amazing expence and difficulty of transporting troops and provisions above three thousand miles, with the impossibility of re-

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eruiting their army at a less distance, save only with such recreants, whose conscious guilt must at the first approach of danger, appal the stoutest heart. Those insuperable obstacles are known and acknowledged by every virtuous and impartial man in the nation. Even the author of this horrid war is incapable of concealing his own confusion and distress. Too great to be wholly suppressed, it frequently discovers itself in the course of his speech—a speech terrible in word, and fraught with contradiction—breathing threatenings, and betraying terror—a motley mixture of magnanimity and consideration—of grandeur and abasement. With troops invincible, he dreads a defeat, and wants reinforcements. Victorious in America, and triumphant on the ocean, he is an humble dependent on a petty prince; and apprehends an attack upon his own metropolis; and, with full confidence in the friendship and alliance of France, he trembles upon his throne, at her secret designs and open preparations.

With all this, we ought to contrast the numerous and hardy sons of America, inured to toil—seasoned alike to heat and cold— hale—robust—patient of fatigue—and, from their ardent love of liberty, ready to face danger and death—the immense extent of continent, which our insatiable enemies have undertaken to subjugate—the remarkable unanimity of its inhabitants, notwithstanding the exception of a few apostates and deserters—their unshaken resolution to maintain their freedom, or perish in the attempt—the fertility of our soil in all kinds of provisions necessary for the support of war—our inexhaustible internal resources for military stores and naval armaments—our comparative economy in public expences—and the millions we save by having reprobated the farther exchange of our valuable staples for the worthless trinkets and finery of English manufacture. Add to this, that in a cause so just and righteous on our part, we have the highest reason to expect the blessing of heaven upon our glorious conflict. For who can doubt the interposition of the supremely Just, in favour of a people forced to recur to arms in defence of every thing dear and precious, against a nation deaf to

our complaints—rejoicing in our misery—wantonly aggravating our oppressions—determined to divide our substance—and by fire and sword to compel us into submission?

Respecting the constitution of Great Britain, having certain royal prerogatives, of dangerous tendency, it has been applauded by the best judges; and displays, in its original structure, illustrious proofs of wisdom and the knowledge of human nature. But what avails the best constitution, with the worst administration? For what is their present government—and what has it been for years past, but a pensioned confederacy against reason, and virtue, and honour, and patriotism, and the rights of man? What were their leaders, but a set of political craftmen, flagitiously conspiring to erect the babel, despotism, upon the ruins of the ancient and beautiful fabric of law—a shameful cabal, notoriously employed in deceiving the prince, corrupting the parliament, debasing the people, depressing the most virtuous, and exalting the most profligate—in short, an insatiable junta of public spoilers, lavishing the national wealth, and, by speculation and plunder, accumulating a debt already enormous? And what was the majority of their parliament, formerly the most august assembly in the world, but venal pensioners to the crown—a perfect mockery of all popular representation—and at the absolute devotion of every minister? What were the characteristics of their administration of the provinces? The substitution of regal instructions in the room of law; the multiplication of officers to strengthen the court interest; perpetually extending the prerogatives of the king, and retrenching the rights of the subject; advancing to the most eminent stations, men without education, and of the most dissolute manners; employing, with the people's money, a band of emissaries to misrepresent and traduce the people; and, to crown the system of mis-rule, sporting with our persons and estates, by filling the highest seats of justice, with bankrupts, bullies, and blockheads.

From such a nation (though all this we bore, and should perhaps have borne for another century, had they

not avowedly claimed the unconditional disposal of life and property) it is evidently our duty to be detached. To remain happy or safe in our connexion with her, became thenceforth utterly impossible. She is moreover precipitating her own fall, or the age of miracles is returned—and Britain a phenomenon in the political world, without a parallel.

The proclamations to ensnare the timid and credulous, are beyond expression disingenuous and tantalizing. In a gilded pill they conceal real poison: they add insult to injury. After repeated intimations of commissioners to treat with America, we are presented, instead of the peaceful olive-branch, with the devouring sword: instead of being visited by plenipotentiaries to bring matters to an accommodation, we are invaded by an army, in their opinion, able to subdue us—and upon discovering their error, the terms propounded amount to this, “If you will submit without resistance, we are content to take your property, and spare our lives: and then (the consummation of arrogance!) we will graciously pardon you, for having hitherto defended both.”

Considering then their bewildered councils, their blundering ministry, their want of men and money, their impaired credit, and declining commerce, their lost revenues, and starving islands, the corruption of their parliament, with the effeminacy of their nation—and the success of their enterprise is against all probability. Considering farther, the horrid enormity of their waging war against their own brethren, expostulating for an audience, complaining of injuries, and supplicating for redress, and waging it with a ferocity and vengeance unknown to modern ages, and contrary to all laws, human and divine; and we can neither question the justice of our opposition, nor the assistance of heaven to crown it with victory.

Let us not, however, presumptuously rely on the interposition of providence, without exerting those efforts which it is our duty to exert, and which our bountiful Creator has enabled us to exert. Let us do our part to open the next campaign with redoubled vigour; and until the united

states have humbled the pride of Britain, and obtained an honourable peace, cheerfully furnish our proportion for continuing the war—a war, founded on our side on the immutable obligation of self-defence and in support of freedom, of virtue, and every thing tending to ennoble our nature, and render a people happy—on their part, prompted by boundless avarice, and a thirst for absolute sway, and built on a claim repugnant to every principle of reason and equity—a claim subversive of all liberty, natural, civil, moral, and religious; incompatible with human happiness, and usurping the attributes of Deity, degrading man, and blaspheming God.

Let us all, therefore, of every rank and degree, remember our plighted faith and honour, to maintain the cause with our lives and fortunes. Let us inflexibly persevere, in prosecuting to a happy period, what has been so gloriously begun, and hitherto so prosperously conducted. And let those in more distinguished stations use all their influence and authority, to rouse the supine; to animate the irresolute; to confirm the wavering; and to draw from his lurking hole, the skulking neutral, who, leaving to others the heat and burden of the day, means in the final result to reap the fruits of that victory, for which he will not contend. Let us be peculiarly assiduous in bringing to condign punishment, those detestable parricides who have been openly active against their native country. And may we, in all our deliberations and proceedings, be influenced and directed by the great Arbitrer of the fate of nations, by whom empires rise and fall, and who will not always suffer the sceptre of the wicked to rest on the lot of the righteous, but in due time avenge an injured people on their unfeeling oppressor, and his bloody instruments.

Haddonfield, Feb. 25, 1777.



Characteristics of a good assemblyman. Ascribed to his excellency William Livingston, esquire, Governor of New-Jersey.

THOUGH I am an old man that cannot render my country any active services, I am willing to contribute my mite to its prosperity,

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in the only way in which I can be useful to it. Having lost that vigour and vivacity which is peculiar to youth, and necessary for the more busy scenes of life, I am retired from the bustle of the world, resolved to spend the remainder of my days, not as an idle spectator of the struggle in which we are engaged, but with a resolution of conveying to the public, such hints and observations on our internal police, as I think may be salutary to the cause of liberty and virtue.

We have, by the blessing of Providence, established a glorious fabric of freedom and independence; but unless that fabric is supported by the same spirit of patriotism by which it was reared, I am afraid that it will not be of long duration. Whenever our public virtue decays, our government, which owes its origin to, and was founded upon, public virtue, will languish; and upon the total extinction of the former (which heaven avert from ever proving our case) the latter will crumble to pieces, and be totally demolished. It requires great virtue in the people, and great wisdom and activity in their rulers, to prevent the constitution from degenerating into anarchy and confusion. I shall, therefore, from time to time, publish my sentiments, as well on the errors of the people at large, as on the failings of those who are placed over us, either as legislators or magistrates, and that with the freedom becoming a subject of a free government, but at the same time with the deference and decorum due to superiors. For the present I submit my thoughts on the duty of representatives, which are honestly meant, and I hope will be candidly received.

Characteristics of a good assemblyman.

I. To accept his delegation with a sincere desire, and for the sole purpose of rendering his country all the service in his power.

II. Seriously to consider what laws will be most beneficial; industrious in collecting materials for framing them; and prompt to hear all men, especially the most judicious, on the state of his country; and the regulations proposed to render it more happy and flourishing.

III. To make conscience of doing

his proper share of business in the house, without leaving it to others to do his part, by which they must necessarily neglect their own; every member being bound in honour to do as much as he can.

IV. Candidly and impartially to form his own judgment for himself, yet to be always open to conviction, and, upon cogent arguments for that purpose, ready to change, and frankly to confess the change of, his sentiments.

V. To detach himself from all local partialities, and county-interests, inconsistent with the common weal; and, ever considering himself as a representative of the whole state, to be assiduous in promoting the interest of the whole, which must ultimately produce the good of every part.

VI. Never to grudge the time he spends in attending the sessions, though his private affairs may suffer, since the loss he may thereby sustain, will be amply recompensed by the delightful testimony of his conscience, in favour of his disinterested patriotism; while no pleasure, arising from the advancement of his fortune, to the neglect of a superior obligation, can balance the upbraids of that faithful monitor.

VII. In every vote he gives, to be solely directed by the public emolument; and never influenced in his suffrage by motives merely selfish or lucrative.

VIII. To give no leave of absence to a fellow-member on trifling occasions, in hopes of the same indulgence in return; but to be strenuous in supporting the rules and orders of the house (which are the life of business) though he may thereby disoblige an irregular, or disappoint an homesick individual.

IX. Inflexible in his resolution of acting agreeably to the dictates of his conscience—to be utterly regardless of the applause or censure, that may ensue upon the discharge of his duty.

X. Never to be instrumental in promoting to any office or trust, his dearest connexions or intimacies, whom he believes not qualified for the department; nor ever to oppose the promotion of any that are, from personal pique or resentment.

XI. As the best calculated laws will be found ineffectual to regulate a

people of dissolute morals, he will recommend by his conversation and example, virtue and purity of manners; and discountenance all irreligion and immorality, as equally fatal to the interests of civil society and personal happiness.

XII. Serenely to enjoy the praises of merit, as an additional testimony to the approbation of his own heart, of the rectitude of his conduct; but from public clamour and obloquy, to retire within himself; and there to feast on his own virtue, without seeking to retaliate the ingratitude of unreasonable men, save only by putting their malevolence to the blush, by fresh and more extensive services to his country.

Jan. 1778.

*General Washington's farewell orders
to the armies of the united states.*

*Rocky Hill, near Princeton,
November 2, 1783.*

THE united states in congress assembled, after giving the most honourable testimony to the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent, and faithful services—having thought proper, by their proclamation, bearing date the 18th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which proclamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all concerned—it only remains for the commander in chief to address himself once more, and that, for the last time, to the armies of the united states (however widely dispersed the individuals who composed them may be) and to bid them an affectionate—a long farewell.

But before the commander in chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects—of advising the general line of conduct, which, in his opinion, ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself

under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment, at a period earlier than could have been expected, of the object for which we contended, against to formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving—while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the united states, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses, which, in several instances, have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigors of an inclement season—nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred, by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness, could imagine, that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from the different parts of the continent, strongly disposed, by the habits of education, to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps, by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

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It is universally acknowledged that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description: and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inestimable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labours? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers, who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the west will yield a most happy asylum to those, who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the united states will prefer a national bankruptcy, and a dissolution of the union, to a compliance with the requisitions of congress, and the payment of its just debts—so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in recommencing their civil occupations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the states, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachments to the union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals, who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit, yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct—let it be remembered, that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the united states has promised the just reward, and given the

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merited applause—let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence, and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame still incite the men who composed them, to honourable actions, under the persuasion, that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valour, perseverance and enterprise, were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men, will depend upon the wife and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the general has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the federal government were properly supported, and the powers of the union increased, the honour, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost forever: yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier, who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavours, to those of his worthy fellow-citizens, towards effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The commander in chief conceives little is now wanting to enable the soldier to change his military character into that of the citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behaviour, which has generally distinguished, not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences—and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under, for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks in the most serious and affectionate manner to the general officers, as well for their counsel

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on many interesting occasions, as for their ardour in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the other officers, for their great zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments; and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action; to the various branches of the army, the general takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare professions were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character—and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honour to command—he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favours, both here and hereafter, attend those, who under the divine auspices have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander in chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene to him will be closed for ever.

Edward Hand, adj. gen.

Answer to the preceding "farewell orders."

To his excellency general Washington, commander in chief of the armies of the united states.

WE, the officers of the part of the army remaining on the banks of the Hudson, have received your excellency's serious and farewell address to the armies of the united states. We beg your acceptance of our unfeigned thanks for the communication,

and your affectionate assurances of inviolable attachment and friendship. If your attempts to insure to the armies, the just, the promised rewards of their long, severe, and dangerous services, have failed of success, we believe it has arisen from causes not in your excellency's power to controul.—With extreme regret do we reflect on the occasion which called for such endeavours. But while we thank your excellency for these exertions in favour of the troops you have so successfully commanded, we pray it may be believed, that in this sentiment our own particular interests have but a secondary place; and that even the ultimate ingratitude of the people (were that possible) would not shake the patriotism of those who suffer by it. Still, with pleasing wonder, and with grateful joy, shall we contemplate the glorious conclusion of our labours. To that merit in the revolution, which, under the auspices of heaven, the armies have displayed, posterity will do justice; and the sons will blush, whose fathers were their foes. Most gladly would we cast a veil over every act which sullies the reputation of our country—never should the page of history be stained with its dishonour—even from our memories should the idea be erased. We lament the opposition to those salutary measures which the wisdom of the union has planned—measures which alone can recover and fix on a permanent basis the credit of the states—measures which are essential to the justice, the honour, and interest of the nation. While she was giving the noblest proofs of magnanimity, with conscious pride we saw her growing fame; and, regardless of present sufferings, we looked forward to the end of our toils and dangers, to brighter scenes in prospect. There we beheld the genius of our country dignified by sovereignty and independence, supported by justice, and adorned with every liberal virtue. There we saw patient husbandry fearless extend her cultured fields, and animated commerce spread her sails to every wind. There we beheld fair science lift her head, with all the arts attending in her train. There, blest with freedom, we saw the human mind expand; and throwing aside the restraints which confined it to the narrow bounds of country,

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it embraced the world. Such were our fond hopes, and with such delightful prospects did they present us. Nor are we disappointed. Those animating PROSPECTS are now changed and changing to REALITIES; and actively to have contributed to their production, is our pride—our glory. But JUSTICE alone can give them stability. In that justice we still believe. Still we hope that the prejudices of the misinformed will be removed, and the arts of false and selfish popularity, addressed to the feelings of avarice, defeated: for in the worst event, the world, we hope, will make the just distinction. We trust the disingenuousness of a few will not sully the reputation, the honour, and dignity of the great and respectable majority of the states.

We are happy in the opportunity just presented, of congratulating your excellency on the certain conclusion of the DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE. Relieved at length from long suspense, our warmest wish is to return to the bosom of our country, to resume the character of citizens; and it will be our highest ambition to become useful ones. To your excellency this great event must be peculiarly pleasing; for while at the head of her armies, urged by patriot virtues and magnanimity, you persevered, under the pressure of every possible difficulty and disappointment, in the pursuit of the great objects of the war—the freedom and safety of your country—your heart panted for the tranquil enjoyments of peace. We cordially rejoice with you, that the period of indulging them has arrived so soon. In contemplating the blessings of liberty and independence—the rich price of eight years hardy adventure—past sufferings will be forgotten; or, if remembered, the recollection will serve to heighten the relish of present happiness. We sincerely pray God this happiness may long be yours; and that when you quit the stage of human life, you may receive from the UNERRING JUDGE the rewards of valour, exerted to save the oppressed—of patriotism, and disinterested virtue.

West Point, Nov. 15, 1783.

General Washington's address to congress, on the resignation of his commission.

Mr president,

THE great events, on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty—and pleased with the opportunity afforded the united states of becoming a respectable nation—I resign, with satisfaction, the appointment I accepted with diffidence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of heaven.

The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations: and my gratitude for the interposition of providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest.

While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family, should have been more fortunate; permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of congress.

I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to his holy keeping.

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body,

under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

G. WASHINGTON.

City of Annapolis, Dec. 23, 1783.

Answer of congress.

S I R,

THE united states in congress assembled receive, with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success, through a perilous and a doubtful war.

Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you.

You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes; you have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius, and transmit their fame to posterity; you have persevered, till these united states, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just providence, to close the war in freedom, safety, and independence; on which happy event, we sincerely join you in congratulations.

Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world—having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel, oppression—you retire from the great theatre of action, with the blessings of your fellow-citizens; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command: it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel, with you, our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers, who have attended your person to this affecting moment.

We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them, of becom-

ing a happy and respectable nation; and for you, we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care: that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.



Letter relative to the Hessian fly, from the vice-president of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, to the president of the Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture

IN COUNCIL.

Philadelphia, Sept. 1, 1788.

S I R,

A PROCLAMATION was issued on the twenty-fifth of June last by his Britannic majesty, prohibiting the entry of wheat, the growth of any of the territories of the united states into any of the ports of Great Britain: and as there is reason to believe that the said proclamation has been occasioned by some misinformation respecting the insect called the Hessian fly:

Council therefore request your useful society to investigate and report to them, as soon as convenient, the nature of the Hessian fly, particularly as to the manner of its being propagated, and the effects of it on the crops of wheat; and to ascertain with all possible precision, whether the loss of the crops is not occasioned by the destruction of the plant; and whether the small quantity of wheat produced from a field infected with the fly, is good grain, or otherwise. Likewise, the most successful method that has hitherto been discovered for preventing the effects of this insect.

I am, sir,

with great respect,

your very humble servant,

P. MUHLENBERG, v. p.

Samuel Powell, esq. president of the Agricultural Society.

Answer.

S I R,

THE Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture, before whom I had the honour of laying the enquiries addressed to them by the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, on the subject of the Hessian fly, have directed me to assure your honourable

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board, that from every communication made to them on that subject, they are decidedly of opinion, that it is the plant of the wheat, alone, that is injured by this destructive insect—that what grain happens to be produced from such plants, is sound and good—and that this insect is not propagated by sowing wheat which grew on fields infected with it.

For the best information relative to the other enquiries, the society beg leave to refer your honourable board to the *Pennsylvania Mercury* of June 8, Sept. 14, 1787, and July 1, 1788*, and to the *Pennsylvania Packet* of Aug. 21, 1788†.

I have the honour to be, &c.

SAMUEL POWELL, Pres.

Philadelphia, Sept. 3, 1788.

Hon. Peter Muhlenberg, esq.
vice-president of the state of
Pennsylvania.

As the destruction of the wheat by the Hessian fly, as it is called, in some of the neighbouring governments for several years past, and its penetrating so far into this state, previous to the last harvest, are alarming circumstances, and especially to the farmers, the following remarks on that interesting subject, we flatter ourselves, will be agreeable to the public, and probably convey some useful information, which may conduce towards alleviating or lessening to great a calamity; if they should in some measure serve this good purpose, the end we have in view will be answered.

JAMES VAUX,
JOHN JACOBS.

Providence, Montgomery county,
Pennsylvania, eighth mo. 16, 1788.

ON the 7th of the present month we left home, on a tour to Jer-

NOTES.

* The three publications, here alluded to, are productions of col. Morgan, of Princeton; and may be seen in the *American Museum*, vol. I. page 326; vol. II. page 298; and vol. IV. page 48.—C.

† This is the publication which follows Mr. Powell's letter, and is signed by James Vaux and John Jacobs.—C.

sey, and Long-Island in New-York government, to enquire into the effects of that destructive insect, and what remedy had been found to prevent its baneful consequences in those parts; likewise to make enquiry of some of the most sagacious and intelligent practical farmers, who have declined sowing wheat, what mode of cropping they had adopted in lieu of wheat crops, to make annual returns of cash; and in an especial manner to ascertain the true species of bearded wheat, which has been found by experience effectually to withstand the attacks of the fly, and to procure samples of the same. The following remarks, in consequence of said enquiry, were noted for our own satisfaction, and are now offered for general information. We find the fly passes itself between the outer straw or husk and the stalk of the wheat, until it reaches near the first or lower joint, and there, somewhat like a caterpillar on a twig, fixes its eggs on the stalk, in number from six or eight to fifty; by the growing of them, the stalk becomes so compressed with the adhesion of the cluster, and weakened to such a degree, as not to support its own weight, consequently falls to the ground, and the crop is irremediably lost.

We must leave to naturalists to develop and describe the history of this insect; but to us it appears unlikely that any means, within the bounds of human wisdom, will be found to destroy it, or to tincture the wheat stalks with any noxious quality sufficient to prevent the fly from preferring the common wheat stalks to deposit its eggs for the continuance of its species. We therefore conclude, from the experience of the most intelligent farmers and millers with whom we conversed, that none but uninformed or obdurate men will attempt sowing the common wheat in the neighbourhood of the fly, unless compelled thereto by necessity. But this need not intimidate the farmers in the least from proceeding in a regular course of wheat crops, as the fatherly care of the Supreme Being, in the course of his providence, even in this instance, where the wisdom of his dependent creatures evidently proves insufficient, has interposed and made provision for man's subsistence, with-

out obliging him to deviate from his usual practice of tillage, or his sustaining much loss or even disappointment, but only requires his timely application of the proffered remedy; which seems to consist of seed wheat of a peculiar species, which ought to be procured in due time.

Isaac Underhill, of Long Island, state of New York, had his wheat destroyed by the fly, consequently had not any for seed; but being a miller, took some out of his mill, which had been purchased from on board a ship at New York, in the year 1780 or 1781; this he sowed, and reaped therefrom upwards of twenty bushels per acre, when few, if any, of his neighbours, for some miles round, had any to reap, it being destroyed by the fly. Being an observing man, he immediately concluded that this wheat must possess some peculiar quality, and therefore caused his whole crop to be threshed out, and disposed of it to his neighbours in small quantities for seed. This wheat they have now sowed for six or seven years past, and Isaac has never reaped less than ten bushels from the acre, in the most unfavourable season, but generally from twenty to thirty bushels. It is a yellow, plump, full grain, with a white beard and white chaff, weighing from fifty-nine to sixty-three pounds the bushel.

The millers, Isaac and Andrew Underhill, informed us, that it was, in their opinion, equal to the best red wheat; and to us, who observed it with a farmer's eye, it appears a perfect grain, much like the yellow skip-pack wheat, so highly esteemed by our millers. The fly will reside in the fields where this wheat is sown, and deposit its eggs in the straw, but hardly ever materially injures the crop. The only instance we heard of was, a widow woman procured one single bushel of this yellow bearded wheat, and sowed it in the same field with the common sort; it was a very small quantity in proportion to the whole field; when the fly had destroyed the common, they attacked the bearded in very great numbers; the crop was much hurt; yet she reaped five or six bushels from the one bushel sown. A man at some distance from the widow's, sowed a field with the yellow bearded wheat, the fly destroyed all the neigh-

bouring fields of the common sort, and seemed to collect in his plentifully; from the appearance he concluded his crop would be destroyed; but he reaped about twenty bushels per acre. We found it to be the general opinion there, that this wheat stands the winter better, and escapes the mildew more than the common sort, and that it ought not to be sowed earlier than the second, third, or fourth weeks in the next month, according to the progress the fly has made in the neighbourhood where it is to be sown; for it has been found, by observation, that the fly deposits its eggs in the fall; and if the wheat grows into stalk before the cold weather pinches the insect, the plant, even of the yellow bearded kind, is too tender to resist the spear of the fly, if it has any, or to bear the compression of the eggs. Or perhaps the eggs, deposited at that early period, are most likely to injure the stalk in the spring, before it has acquired a sufficient degree of firmness. The yellow bearded wheat has nearly the same kind of straw as rye, and is no more liable to injury from the fly than that grain. The farmers, in the neighbourhood of this insect generally raise good crops of rye, if the land and season prove good. The fly, still abounds on Long Island as rife as ever, yet we do not understand any material injury to be done by it, save to the common wheat only.

Isaac Underhill lives near Flushing, on Long Island, is a farmer and miller, and a person worthy of having the fullest credit given to his opinion in the present case. He was the first person who discovered the peculiar benefit of sowing this kind of yellow bearded wheat; he has taken considerable pains to spread the beneficial effects around him; and at this time his philanthropy induces him to promote the general introduction of this invaluable grain. Andrew Underhill lives in the city of New York, is esteemed a man of veracity, is concerned in several mills, took methods early to introduce the bearded wheat for seed in the neighbourhoods from which his mills had used to be supplied; the consequence has been, he has had a full quantity for his use ever since, and his wish is, that the public generally may be supplied with seed. We

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had our information from many persons on the spot, especially from the two mentioned, and from them we have the promise of sixty bushels of seed for ourselves, the present season, and are happy to inform our neighbours, that they have promised to procure what is in their power for any of them, who, from inclination or apparent necessity, may be induced to send for it.

We found no instance of any farmer substituting other crops in lieu of wheat; and but one, of any having common wheat, so as constantly to withstand the fly. The method he pursued was, to cover it with sea-weed, or straw, soon after it came up. It appears in this case, as in all others, that there is no general rule without exception; some injury having been done to the bearded wheat, though so little, as not to have the least weight with a person of reflection; as, on the other hand, some spots of the other wheat has been preserved in the neighbourhood of the fly, but this has happened so seldom, that a prudent man will hardly run the risque, when he may, with great probability, and at a small additional expence, propose to himself a crop equal to what kind providence has been pleased heretofore to bless him with.

Northampton, in Bucks county,
16th Aug. 1788.

S I R,

FOR the information of the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture, I communicate to you the success I have experienced this summer, of an experiment made to evade the destructive effects of the insect, commonly called the Hessian fly.

About the middle of Sept. last, I sowed one bushel of the yellow bearded wheat, which I had procured from Long Island, on part of a piece of ground which had been manured with lime and dung, and had yielded a crop of indian corn, and one of flax. The quantity of ground occupied with this wheat, was one acre, one quarter, and fifteen perches, the produce of which was somewhat over thirty bushels of clean wheat, equal to about twenty-four bushels to the acre, whilst the ground adjoining, of the same quality,

produced about eight bushels to the acre, of the common wheat.

The bearded wheat, as well as the other kind, had been much injured by the severity of the winter, so that many spots were entirely destroyed; yet what remained in the spring grew up as wheat used to do, and did not appear to be injured by the fly, or any wise obstructed in its growth. The common wheat adjoining, from the luxuriance of the soil, and uncommon fertility of the season, appeared struggling hard to get forward, but the bug so impeded its growth, that apparently, not more than one third of the original stalks could come to perfection, and of those, great part draggled down before harvest, so as to render its gathering extremely difficult.

From the success of this experiment, and many others of the same kind made in my neighbourhood, I am fully convinced, that the yellow bearded wheat, notwithstanding this destructive insect, may be raised to great perfection upon good land, provided it can be preserved in the fall.

This wheat, during the fall, and in its tender state, doth not appear to be more secure against the fly than any other kind, and as we have not yet discovered any certain method, whereby to render it offensive to the insect in that state, it will be necessary that the farmer be not only attentive to the improvement of his soil, but that the grain be sowed late in the fall, or not until the fly disappears.

With the greatest esteem, I am
your very humble servant,
HENRY WYNKOOP.

Samuel Powell, esq. president
of the agricultural society.

Advantage of sheering lambs.

Mr. Printer,

LAST month I had fourteen lambs taken promiscuously from my flock, shorn, in order to try how far this mode might be profitable. I had 23lb. 10 ounces of good wool, for which I have been offered 2/6 per lb. None of the lambs were more than of the middling size; they now look better than those unshorn.

JOHN HOLMES.

Cape May, Aug. 16, 1788.

The customary method of making pot-ash used in the state of New York.

AFTER having got together a quantity of ashes, and having made the convenient vessels for extracting the lye, and fixed two large kettles of cast iron containing about ninety gallons, on a furnace, or in masonry, you begin by filling them with lye, which runs out of the tubs, in which, in the first instance, the ashes were put. Afterwards, by the assistance of a fire, which must be kept up by continually feeding it, it produces a gradual evaporation, which carries off the watry parts, and leaves a saline substance in the bottom of the kettles. In order to obtain a large quantity of these salts, you continue filling the kettles during the space of one or twodays. There is, however, no limited time, the quantity of saline substance depending entirely on the strength of the lye and the goodness of the ashes. The custom I pursued, was to stop as soon as I thought there was about two hundred pounds weight, which occupied about one fourth of the kettle. As soon as you have got things thus far, you must lessen the fire, and stir up the salts as much as you can, in order that the remainder of the boiling may be entirely dried; then fill the furnace with dry split wood, which ought to be prepared for the purpose to such a degree as to heat the bottom of the kettle red hot: this excessive heat will quickly inflame the vegetable oil, which is found mixed with the salts. This you soon perceive, for, from the deep black which they were, they become a greyish brown. As soon as this shade or appearance is become general, you lessen the fire; the matter becomes cold; and you then put it in barrels.

It is necessary that these barrels should be made of staves of the best quality of white oak, thicker than is made use of for common purposes, containing thirty-six gallons, and bound with eighteen or twenty hoops; those which I formerly made use of, weighed about fifty pounds. These salts being thus carefully placed in very tight barrels, may afterwards be taken out, and put any where you please, except in a cellar, without fear of the air's dissolving them. In

this state, the pot-ash is sent to market. Your cooper cannot be too careful in the choice of his materials, as well as in the shape of the barrels; for if they admit the air, the salts will dissolve, and run out through the crevices. Each barrel ought to weigh about two hundred and fifty or three hundred pounds; this difference proceeds from the pieces which you take out of the kettle being large or small. This is the method of making, what is called in this country, pot-ash. Some little time after the peace, this article sold at a much higher price than that which goes by the name of pearl-ash. The greatest care must be taken in the choice of your kettles, i. e. the iron must be of the best quality, that they may not crack during the violence of the last operation. You must be equally careful of not filling them too full of lye, that they may not be made suddenly cold. The smallest deviation from these directions will crack them, and of course render them useless.

The method of making pearl-ash.

The process of this is exactly the same as pot-ash; that is to say, by the above mode of boiling you must endeavour to get as much salt in each of the kettles as you possibly can. When they have begun to thicken, diminish the fire by degrees, taking care to keep it so much alive as to dry what remains in the kettles; then take it out, and put it in an oven, of the construction described below, in order to purify it, by means of the flames, of all its heterogeneous or impure parts, and to make it as white as snow. Nothing is more simple than this process, when the oven and its little furnace are properly constructed.

Some ideas respecting the oven and furnace for drying and purifying the pot-ash.

It is composed of two parts; the lower part is an arch of four feet and a half, and eighteen inches wide. The length-ways of this lower part, or furnace, you place bars of iron at a little distance from each other, in order to support the wood that is to be burnt. The upper part is an oven of an oblong shape, narrower at the mouth than at the back, the top of ceiling of which is made as low as

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possible, that is to say, from ten to fourteen inches. There is in the bottom of this oven, a communication with the part below, (which is not more than eight or nine inches distant) called the throat, the size of which is six by four inches. This must be contracted towards the middle part of the thickness; by this means, the flames, drawn by the current of air, precipitate themselves directly towards the passage, the bottom part of which is formed like a funnel; through this they pass into the upper part, and spreading upwards in the furnace, are repelled by the low sloping shape of the ceiling, upon the salts, before they can escape at the mouth, through which the salts were put in. This does not fail to destroy the impure matter, which rises of different colours, and is carried off in a black thick smoke. During this operation, a man, with a large iron rake, keeps continually raking and stirring up the salts, in order to expose every part to the flames. Three quarters of an hour are sufficient for each baking or burning. The wood which you make use of, ought to be split very small, and rendered as inflammable as possible, in order to produce a strong and powerful flame. As soon as the furnace is a little cooled, you take out the pearled pot-ash, with a shovel, and lay it on a large stone plate, at the time you put it in the barrels, the strength and solidity of which require as much care as those for the pot-ash. The difficulty of contracting this furnace lies only in giving a proper shape to the throat or passage, and to the arched ceiling. The first is destined to take in as large a body of flames as possible, and to force them by means of the compression, to spread upwards in the oven; the second, to repel them equally on the salts, before they escape again through the mouth.

The pearl-ash is much heavier than the pot-ash, because of its being consolidated by the baking, and decreased in size; wherefore you may put a much greater weight of it in each barrel. The furnace, or lower part, ought to be built of the best qualified bricks, if they can be procured, and the bottom of the upper part, or oven, to be covered with a plate of cast iron, surrounded with a border or edge three inches high, where it can be got or afforded.

General observations.

It is unnecessary to say any thing of the method of extracting the lye from the ashes. Let tubs be made of white pine slaves, each large enough to contain twenty-five bushels of ashes: it will be well to use a false bottom full of holes, placed about four inches above the real bottom, on which you may put some hay or straw, before you lay the ashes on it. The best ashes are those made of green wood. The finer you split your wood, the greater is the quantity of salt to any certain number of bushels. You may generally compute five or six hundred to produce a ton of pot-ash, two thousand two hundred and forty pounds to a ton. The ashes made of wood that is rosinny or pitchy, not only produce nothing, but prevent the coalition and thickening of the salts. Your collection of ashes ought to be put on planks as you gather them, without which the dampness of the earth will extract its strength. In some places, in order to extract the lye, they make use of large square places, made of pine boards, like cisterns; but tubs are to be preferred, because it is the nicest and most certain way.

Such is the method which a careful and judicious person has followed during three years, and in which he has the most perfect confidence from experience.



Extract from a masonic discourse on 1 St. John, 3, 10, 11, delivered in Christ Church, Dover, Dec. 27th, 1780, before the general communication of free and accepted masons of the Delaware state:

To his excellency general WASHINGTON.

S I R,

OF myself, I would not have presumed to offer this address.—In admiration and love arising almost to rapture, I have long contemplated your excellency's character: yet still, to do so, in retirement and silence, appeared to become me best;—or, at the most, not to pass out of the circle of a F

select few, imparting and increasing this our refined enjoyment.

But the brethren have imboldened me to step a little farther; and should it be deemed unseasonable intrusion, they take to themselves the blame. They have honoured me with their particular instructions, to inscribe this sermon to your excellency; whereby an opportunity is given, not only to them, but to me, of declaring in a public manner, that every species of veneration, and consummate gratitude, is the tribute unquestionably due to consummate merit; that in the present age, our world beholds a more than usual blessing—the hero, and the man of virtue, in the same personage, to a charm, united; that now we have the pleasure, with consenting millions, of revering great endowments conjoined with good. They direct me to tell, that they glory in having communion with so very illustrious a brother—and master.

The author of the following little performance, wishes it was more worthy of your excellency's patronage. It may be said, in a degree, to be extemporaneous, having been drawn up in such unavoidable haste; neither would correction have brought it nearer to the splendour of the subject, unless the whole plan were altered.

Your excellency being no stranger to the sentiments here attempted to be set forth, hath felt through a life most useful, what it is to be pre-eminent in kind affection and philanthropy; and knoweth well, that to be “a child of God,” as much transcends the pretended dignity of being a son of Jupiter, of Mars, or of Apollo, as the new Jerusalem of St. John excels in glory the Elysium of Homer, Virgil, or of Plato.

I am, sir,
your excellency's most obedient servt.

SAMUEL MAGAW.

Dover, March 27, 1781.

QUALITIES, whether natural or moral—dispositions, tempers, actions, and characters may be seen, and discriminated, very often, to most advantage, by setting them in contrast, with their opposites: at least, their exhibition seems to strike most sensibly, when they happen to be mentioned together, or placed pretty near each other—so it is in regard to light

and darkness; wisdom and error; strength and weakness; beauty and deformity; order and irregularity; the harmony of modulated sounds, and the jarring of discords—so it is with respect to the features and description of these two classes, comprehending all that is good, and all that is evil, in the human kind, “the children of God, and the children of the devil.”

This contrariety and dissimilitude of figures and ideas reciprocally tending to communicate, the one to the other, a clearer visibility, and more forcible effect, is what we meet with frequently in the language of holy scripture: there are some remarkable instances of it to be found in this author; one hath been just now recited in the beginning of the text.

All the circumstances attending the introduction and progress of moral and physical evil among the works of God, we are not acquainted with; a few of them only do we know.

From his omnipotent controlling power, and the unbounded glory of his nature, we are assured, that out of confusion he will bring forth order, and will force partial evil to be some way subservient to universal good.

The grand apostate angel appears to have been the origin of sin in this our system. A fallen spirit—envy filled his mind; and a propensity wild as the colour of his state to make the new inhabitants of earth apostates like himself: and always since, he lives and works within “the children of disobedience.”

It is by confounding his devices—breaking his bonds asunder—and bringing us once more into the element of heaven, that our redeeming ALPHA and OMEGA unites us to his everlasting temple, and constitutes us pillars that shall go no more out.

For this purpose the son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil, and raise a fabric of undecaying grandeur, “built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets—himself being the chief corner-stone.”—

With respect then to being “the children of God,” this is a relation founded in, and arising from, a very illustrious part of “the restitution of all things.”

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principles—throwing out a number of luminous aphorisms—our apostle, in these epistles, helps us to understand this subject distinctly and fully.

The inseparable connection between sound faith and sound morality, appears to be his capital object; and, of course, he gives us several thoughts on charity or love, which one would almost take to be the sketches of an angel, and not of man. The idea he gives us of the all-glorious being—an idea received from the heaven of heavens, is, that he is the very height, perfection, and source unfathomable of light and love:—"God is light"—"God is love." With this eternal light and love, even those who had gone astray, upon their true repentance and effectual return, enjoy an union and participation.

Now, how can it be otherwise, than that "the children of God" should be manifested? and distinguished as clearly from those of an opposite character, as noon from the midnight?

That which they have heard from the beginning remaining in them, they do continue in the son, and in the father." In the purifying radiance of the infinite I AM, they live, and move, and have celestial being. Knowing that he delights in harmony, proportion, and everlasting order, through all his works, they contemplate the same with pleasing wonder, and strive incessantly to have their wills and actions brought to a sweet accordance.

The ground I shall now advance on, is the following. That the principles of this most ancient society, direct its members, through the whole system of their labours, to manifest, that they are the children of God, and not the children of the devil.

I know, an objection ariseth in the breasts of some, immediately, "if these brethren have so excellent an institution, and principles so pure, how is it that they do not generally shine as lights in the world?" 'tis pity this should carry with it so much plausibility; but it falls short of its intention. Let those, however, blush, whom the objection indeed affecteth; the system they profess stands spotless and unimpeached.

A veneration for the eternal architect of nature, and nature's operations, the love of him, who in number,

weight and measure, hath arranged all things, and poured a rich profusion of beauty and blessing through his works—the liveliest sensibility of his power and presence—an attention deep and watchful, in regard to every intimation of his will—a delight in due proportion, not barely in things inanimate, but in the mind and actions—a general love of human kind, and study to advance their happiness—and yet, a special closer sympathy—a reciprocity of sentiments, peculiarly fraternal, among a select number associated in the bonds of cordial pledged affection—while withal, no preceding nor subsequent obligation is in the least infringed—these appear to have been the original, and are the standing, and the abiding principles of masonry—

The thoughtful and inquiring taking a retrospect towards the birth of things, have found the lodge almost co-eval with creation. Illustrious men, good and true, looking abroad, and looking often upwards, beholding the sun rolling in his glory—the moon conducting the night—and the stars gilding the hemisphere around her—contemplating the grand adjustment and order of things—were led to see the mighty builder God. They pondered and adored—the deeper their researches, the more the inspiration they received—the more they saw and felt a symmetry around them and within them. Some choice congenial souls, to brighten and assist each other, mature their deep conception more effectually, and draw there from such science and improvements as the state of man required, united with each other in fellowship both deep and faithful.

Whatever is sublime and beautiful in arts, from the time that Enoch erected his famed pillars, until the modern day, is deemed to take its rise, and borrow its support from this original.

But, what we are now attending to especially, are mental qualities—the order of the soul—the harmony of pure affections—the proportions of a well spent life—the sublime and beautiful of doing good.

Now, these every wise brother hath, from the beginning, looked upon as the main business, and the glory of the craft.

The liberal bosom of the lodge hath

all along received its members out of every nation ; its constitutions requiring only, that they be men fearing God, and working righteousness ; but still requiring this as indispensable.

Religion, pure and undefiled, hath ever been one and the same ; and the morals, connected with it, are as invariable ; but its dispensations have differed ; that is, a greater share of light hath been enjoyed by some people, than by others ; and at one time, than at another : the means of heavenly communication have differed ; and so have the symbols of the divine and saving operation upon the heart.

But in all ages and times, they who availed themselves of such privileges as were allowed them—who, in simplicity and sincerity walked in their present light—panting after the still rising glories of the reign of God—were accepted of him. They felt the power of redemption, in their measure and degree, though many of them heard not of the redeemer's name.

As the dispensation brightened, men's obligations brightened with it. In this respect the privileges and blessings of our day are rich and inestimable. "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light ; and on them that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, doth the illustrious light of Emanuel shine." We are invited to glory, honour, and immortality, through the reception of the light—the light, more fully than heretofore, displayed ; and in an answerable patient continuance in well doing.

You, therefore, sirs, having heard the voice proceeding as it were, from the excellent glory—and knowing that Christ Jesus is revealed as the way, the truth, and the life—by whom only you can be built up a spiritual house—you, I say, undoubtedly must feel the ties you are under to triumph in, and live the holy gospel. Your principles direct you to rejoice in the truth, and seek it more than for the gold of Ophir. Here is the truth, and the truth that shall make you free indeed. Here are the plans that adorn and embellish life ; that, faithfully, observed, will make you good, and great, and happy. Here is the law of purity enforced, and the law of love. Here is the golden rule, or square held up, of doing to others, as you would wish

they should do to you. Here peace is recommended in all its honours—content of spirit, meekness, sobriety, strict abstinence from all excess, unwearied diligence in business, a feeling heart, and a relieving hand.

Solemnly have you bound yourselves to draw from these fountains, and to cultivate these venerable practices. Solemnly have you sworn to the true and living God, that on these grounds, and after this pattern, will you construct the fabric of your labours.

In a word, from true religion, illustrated by Jesus, your science takes its main and sure supports. Other foundation can no man lay, than he hath already laid : and every faithful brother reflects back the simplicity, the truth, the loveliness of that religion, in his whole conversation.

An impious, or an immoral man in your fraternity, is what the constitutions of your order disallow ; such a one can be no other than an hindrance to your works and communications, and a blot in your seals of charity.

From these hints may be very plainly inferred, that the principles of this society direct its members, through the whole system of their labours, to manifest themselves to be "the children of God," and not "the children of the devil."

Previous now to the enforcing "that message which you heard from the beginning," addressed to your "business and bosoms," as men, and christian brethren—some thoughts may be suggested explanatory of its connection, and conducive to its influence and effect.

There subsisteth among men a strong and close relation in respect of one another, founded in nature—pointed out by their very frame, and a great variety of circumstances ; as also obligations and numerous important offices resulting from that relation, and those circumstances ; all which are now illustrated, and admirably adorned by the beams of heavenly grace.

Created at first in a nearness to God—each human being, while that estate continued, must have invariably felt a tendency supreme towards him—an holy, living aspiration. Mean while, among themselves, the share of his common bounty, endued with his divine similitude—they could not

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but revere and love even this reflected excellency, and be drawn, for his sake, in sympathy divine, still nearer and nearer to each other. But estrangement from God would necessarily cause immediate estrangement with relation to one another. It did so—reconciliation, therefore, and peace must take place in the former respect, before it can obtain in the latter. It is, then, after being made children of God by adoption and grace, or, in the act of being so made and constituted, that we become brethren indeed, united together in love. The same message that proclaims “glory to God in the highest,” and publisheth peace and favour descending from heaven to men—declares withal, men’s everlasting union, and bounden mutual fellowship, as equal heirs of the great salvation.

On such sure footing, and on these principles, our favourite apostle grounds his lessons of philanthropy; and here fixes an infallible criterion for us, by which to estimate our standing as to future everlasting prospects; by which most clearly to discover the gracious, or ungracious disposition of our souls. Subjection to any sin is certain alienation from the household of God; ’tis utterly remote from the spirit of the free, and incompatible with every privilege of the accepted. An heart, profane like Esau’s—an heart unhal- lowed, knows not God; nor can its owner claim the blessing of celestial sonship: as little can the soul continuing unendued with the power and feelings of fraternal love. “Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother.”

Now as to this sweet charge, “that we should love one another,” permit me, in conclusion, to press it a few moments.

It is eminently important in itself; it is highly interesting in all its circumstances—one of the great commandments also, supporting the law and the prophets—the commandment peculiarly enjoined by our heavenly master; it is “the kind message which you heard from the beginning.” It is the test of true discipleship; the evidence, when complied with, of our being “the children of God;” by this shall all men know, that you are my disciples. “We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren.”

O spirit of love, descend upon us! love is the element of heaven—the very nature of the blessed God—the delight of angels—the glory of all the good and just.

Raised by its attraction to that being superlatively kind, who “poureth down his benefits upon us,” and feeling all that is dissonant within us, attuned into harmony celestial—may the same active, generous, glowing principle dispose us to take by the hand, and to take to our hearts, every fellow traveller through the world’s wilderness; every partaker of our common nature, and co-heir of our common inheritance. “Beloved, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.”

But on the present occasion, to your business more especially do I mean to apply this sublime doctrine.

“This is the message which you have heard from the beginning, that you should love one another.” A message dignified by the highest authority; flowing full and clear through the vast stream of time; strengthening your various labours; grounding, settling, and encircling the pillars of your temple called beautiful.

A farther illustration of it you do not want—I can hardly question but your heads are right on the subject; I wish your hearts to be equally so.

A system merely theoretic, it would not be worth your while to profess. Benevolence unfelt, though clothed in amplest form, and uttered in most liberal, “honeyed sentences,” is no benevolence at all. I long to find the heart-produced, the generous, mutual wish among you—of doing good; and making each other happy. Let this have free course and employment—its efficacy will soon extend abroad; and (give me leave to say) will shine and be glorified. There are occasions not a few—there are objects affectionately moving: call into exercise the tender sensibilities of the soul; bring them forth to action: to feel them, is to be men; to follow and obey them, is to be *pauls minus ab Angelis*—a very little lower than the angels.

Alas! the complexion of such times as the present, and the interfering passions of mankind do sadly interrupt one’s expectation; they carry an unfavourable aspect to genuine sociabil-

ity, and all the friendly offices. The "love of many hath waxed cold." The minds of the people have drank deep into a worldly butler spirit. Fair charity hath few admirers; and concord's shrines are seldom now frequented. The genius, too, of your temple is not a little tossed and afflicted—the temple itself immovable—yet injured. The honours of the lodge must suffer, when brethren are either false, or lukewarm. Come, then, with generous emulation, stop the increasing evil; oppose it by the weight of an exemplary disinterested goodness. Be incorruptible; be amiably beneficent and true. Maintain an inviolable self command. Preserve a constant susceptibility of tender, kind impressions. Whatever is illiberal or unfriendly, whether it might affect a brother, or a stranger, perpetually avoid it. Invincibly upright, pure hearted, and humane to others—court not their praise; fear not their blame. Whenever unto any you give commendation, let candour and ingenuity be shewn; constrained, at times, to disapprove—forget not charity; towards each other, in every meeting and communication, and at all times, you will be gracefully and kindly affectioned.

Keep, and work within the compass of unfeigned benevolence. Delight in, and improve that sweet equality you call the level.

Be courteous, obliging, tender hearted, profitable, as far as in you lies, to men of every kindred, nation, or description.

If any thing be conducive to human utility, or be of human concern, let that be sufficient to interest and engage your attention therein.

In fine—do you not keep a steady eye—I know you do, in hope delighted, and expectation joyous—towards the approaching, mild, completed glories of the land we live in: nay, farther—and farther still—to the sublime era of things, when around the world, benevolence, and truth, and light shall reign; when the universal fabric being laid of "stones with fair colours, and its foundations with sapphires," all the people shall be brethren, and all the brethren be instructed by one grand master, and their communications be one.

To the eternal most blessed being, the source where truth, purity, and goodness, have an unchangeable residence in elevations infinite, and dimensions unbounded—to father, son, and holy spirit, be glory, dominion, and thanksgiving, throughout the universe for ever! amen!



Observations on the constitution proposed by the federal convention.

[Continued from page 138.]

LETTER III.

THE writer of this address hopes, that he will now be thought so disengaged from the objections against the part of the principle assumed, concerning the power of the people, that he may be excused for recurring to his assertion, that—"the power of the people pervading the proposed system, together with the strong confederation of the states, will form an adequate security against every danger that has been apprehended."

It is a mournful, but may be a useful truth, that the liberty of single republics has generally been destroyed by some of the citizens, and of confederated republics, by some of the associated states.

It is more pleasing, and may be more profitable to reflect, that their tranquility and prosperity have commonly been promoted, in proportion to the strength of their government for protecting the worthy against the licentious.

As in forming a political society, each individual contributes some of his rights, in order that he may, from a common stock of rights, derive greater benefits, than he could from merely his own; so, in forming a confederation, each political society should contribute such a share of their rights, as will, from a common stock of rights, produce the largest quantity of benefits to them.

But what is that share? and, how to be managed? Momentous questions! Here, flattery is treason—and error, destruction.

Are they unanswerable? No. Our most gracious Creator does not condemn us to fight for unattainable blessedness: but one thing he demands—that we should seek for it in his way, and not in our own.

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Humility and benevolence must take place of pride and overweening selfishness. Reason rising above these mists, will then discover to us, that we cannot be true to ourselves, without being true to others—that, to be solitary, is to be wretched—that to love our neighbours as ourselves, is to love ourselves in the best manner—that to give, is to gain—and, that we never consult our own happiness more effectually, than when we most endeavour to correspond with the divine designs, by communicating happiness, as much as we can, to our fellow-creatures. Inestimable truth! sufficient, if they do not barely ask what it is, to melt tyrants into men, and to sooth the inflamed minds of a multitude into mildness. Inestimable truth! which our Maker, in his providence, enables us, not only to talk and write about, but to adopt in practice of vast extent, and of instructive examples.

Let us now enquire, if there be not some principle, simple as the laws of nature in other instances, from which, as from a source, the many benefits of society are deduced.

We may with reverence say, that our Creator designed men for society, because otherwise they could not be happy. They cannot be happy without freedom; nor free without security; that is, without the absence of fear; nor thus secure, without society. The conclusion is strictly syllogistic—that men cannot be free without society. Of course, they cannot be equally free without society, which freedom produces the greatest happiness.

As these premises are invincible, we have advanced a considerable way in our enquiry upon this deeply interesting subject. If we can determine, what share of his rights, every individual must contribute to the common stock of rights in forming a society, for obtaining equal freedom, we determine, at the same time, what share of their rights each political society must contribute to the common stock of rights in forming a confederation, which is only a larger society for obtaining equal freedom: for if the deposit be not proportioned to the magnitude of the association in the latter case, it will generate the same mischief among the component parts

of it, from their inequality, that would result from a defective contribution to association in the former case, among the component parts of it, from their inequality.

Each individual, then, must contribute such a share of his rights, as is necessary for attaining that security that is essential to freedom: and he is bound to make this contribution by the law of his nature; that is, by the command of his creator; therefore, he must submit his will, in what concerns all, to the will of the whole society. What does he lose by the submission? The power of doing injuries to others—the dread of suffering injuries from them—and the inconveniences of mental or bodily weakness. What does he gain by it? The aid of those associated with him—protection against injuries from them or others—a capacity of enjoying his undelegated rights to the best advantage—a repeal of his fears—and tranquility of mind—or, in other words, that perfect liberty better described in the holy scriptures, than any where else, in these expressions—“When every man shall sit under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and none shall make him afraid.”

The like submission, with a correspondent expansion and accommodation, must be made between states, for obtaining the like benefits in a confederation. Men are the materials of both. As the largest number is but a junction of units—a confederation is but an assembly of individuals. The sanction of that law of his nature, upon which the happiness of a man depends in society, must attend him in confederation, or he becomes unhappy; for confederation should promote the happiness of individuals, or it does not answer the intended purpose. Herein there is a progression, not a contradiction. As man, he becomes a citizen; as a citizen, he becomes a federalist. The generation of one, is not the destruction of the other. He carries into society his naked rights: These thereby improved, he carries into confederation. If that sacred law before mentioned, is not here observed, the confederation would not be real, but pretended. He would confide, and be deceived.

The dilemma is inevitable. There

must either be one will, or several wills. If but one will, all the people are concerned; if several wills, few comparatively are concerned. Surprising! that this doctrine should be contended for by those, who declare, that the constitution is not founded on a bottom broad enough; and though the whole people of the United States are to be trebly represented in it, in three different modes of representation, and their servants will have the most advantageous situation and opportunities of acquiring all requisite information for the welfare of the whole union, yet insist for a privilege of opposing, obstructing, and confounding all their measures taken with common consent for the general weal, by the delays, negligences, rivalries, or other selfish views of parts of the union.

Thus, while one state should be relied upon by the union for giving aid, upon a recommendation of Congress, to another in distress, the latter, might be ruined; and the state relied upon, might suppose, it would gain by such an event.

When any persons speak of a confederation, do they, or do they not acknowledge, that the whole is interested in the safety of every part—in the agreement of parts—in the relation of parts to one another—to the whole—or, to other societies? If they do—then, the authority of the whole, must be co-extensive with its interests—and if it is, the will of the whole must and ought in such cases to govern; or else it will have an interest without an authority to manage it.

If they do not acknowledge that the whole is thus interested, the conversation should cease. Such persons mean not a confederation, but something else. As to the idea, that this superintending sovereign will must, of consequence, destroy the subordinate sovereignties of the several states, it is begging a concession of the question, by inferring that a manifest and great usefulness must necessarily end in abuse; and not only so, but it requires an extinction of the principle of all society: for, the subordinate sovereignties, or, in other words, the undelegated rights of the several states, in a confederation, stand upon the very same foundation with the undelegated rights of individuals in a society, the

federal sovereign will being composed of the subordinate sovereign wills of the several confederated states. If as some persons seem to think, a bill of rights is the best security of rights, the sovereignties of the several states have this best security, by the proposed constitution, and more than this best security, for they are not barely declared to be rights, but are taken into it as component parts, for their perpetual preservation by themselves. In short, the government of each state is, and is to be, sovereign and supreme in all matters that relate to each state only. It is to be subordinate barely in those matters that relate to the whole, and it will be their own faults, if the several states suffer the federal sovereignty to interfere in things of their respective jurisdictions. An instance of such interference, with regard to any single state, will be a dangerous precedent as to all, and therefore will be guarded against by all: as the trustees or servants of the several states will not dare, if they retain their senses, so to violate the independent sovereignty of their respective states, that justly darling object of American affections, to which they are responsible, besides being endeared by all the charities of life.

The common sense of mankind agrees to the devolution of individual wills in society; and if it has not been as universally assented to in confederation, the reasons are evident, and worthy of being retained in remembrance by Americans. They were, want of opportunities, or the loss of them, through defects of knowledge and virtue. The principle however has been sufficiently vindicated in imperfect combinations, as their prosperity has generally been commensurate to its operation.

How beautifully and forcibly does the inspired apostle saint Paul argue upon a sublimer subject, with a train of reasoning strictly applicable to the present? His words are, "If the foot shall say, because I am not the hand, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body?" and if the ear shall say, because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body?" As plainly inferring, it could be done in that allegorical manner, the strongest censure of such par-

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tial discontents and dissensions, especially, as his meaning is enforced by his description of the benefits of union in these expressions—"but, now they are many members, yet but one body; and the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you."

When the commons of Rome upon a rupture with the senate, seceded in arms upon the mons sacer, Menenius Agrippa used the like allusion to the human body, in his famous apologue of a quarrel among some the members. The unpolished but honest-hearted Romans of that day, understood him, and were appeased. They returned to the city, and—the world was conquered.

Another comparison has been made by statesmen and the learned, between a natural and a political body; and no wonder indeed, when the title of the latter was borrowed from the resemblance. It has therefore been justly observed, that if a mortification takes place in one or some of the limbs, and the rest of the body is sound, remedies may be applied, and not only the contagion prevented from spreading, but the diseased part or parts saved by the connection with the body, and restored to former usefulness. When general putrefaction prevails, death is to be expected. History, sacred and profane, tells us, that corruption of manners is the very basis of slavery.

F A B I U S.



Speech of the hon. Charles Pinckney, esq. delivered at the opening of the convention of South Carolina, May, 14, 1788.

Mr. President,

AFTER so much has been said with respect to the powers possessed by the late convention to form and propose a new system—after so many observations have been made on its leading principles, as well in the house of representatives, as the conventions of other states, whose proceedings have been published—it will be as unnecessary for me again minutely to examine a subject which has been so thoroughly investigated, as it would be difficult to carry you into a field that has not yet been sufficiently explored.

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Having, however, had the honour of being associated in the delegation from this state, and presuming upon the indulgence of the house, I shall proceed to make some observations which appear to me necessary to a full and candid discussion of the system before us.

It seems to be generally confessed, that of all sciences, that of government or politics is the most difficult—in the old world, as far as the lights of history extend, from the earliest ages to our own, we find nations in the constant exercise of all the forms with which the world is at present furnished—we have seen among the antients, as well as the moderns, monarchies, limited and absolute—aristocracies—republics of a single state, and federal unions. But notwithstanding all their experience, how confined and imperfect is their knowledge of government—how little is the true doctrine of representation understood—how few states enjoy what we term freedom! how few governments answer those great ends of public happiness, which we seem to expect from our own!

In reviewing such of the European states as we are the best acquainted with, we may with truth assert, that there is but one among the most important, which confirms to its citizens their civil liberties, or provides for the security of private rights—but as if it had been fated, that we should be the first perfectly free people the world had ever seen—even the government I have alluded to, withholds, from a part of its subjects the equal enjoyment of their religious liberties. How many thousands of the subjects of Great Britain at this moment labour under civil disabilities, merely on account of their religious persuasions! to the liberal and enlightened mind, the rest of Europe affords a melancholly picture of the depravity of human nature, and of the total subversion of those rights, without which we should suppose no people could be happy or content.

We have been taught here to believe that all power, of right, belongs to the people—that it flows immediately from them, and is delegated to their officers for the public good—that our rulers are the servants of the people, amenable to their will, and created for

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their use. How different are the governments of Europe! There the people are the servants and subjects of their rulers—there, merit and talents have little or no influence—but all the honours and offices of government are swallowed up by birth, by fortune, or by rank.

From the European world are no precedents to be drawn for a people who think they are capable of governing themselves. Instead of receiving instruction from them, we may, with pride, affirm, that new as this country is in point of settlement—inexperienced as the must be upon questions of government—the still has read more useful lessons to the old world—the has made them more acquainted with their own rights, than they had been otherwise for centuries. It is with pride I repeat, that, old and experienced as they are, they are indebted to us for light and refinement upon points of all others the most interesting.

Had the American revolution not happened, would Ireland enjoy her present rights of commerce and legislation? would the subjects of the Emperor in the Netherlands have presumed to contend for and ultimately to secure the privileges they demanded? would the parliaments of France have resisted the edicts of their monarch, and justified their proceedings in a language that would do them honour to the freest people? nay, I may add, would a becoming sense of liberty, and of the rights of mankind, have so generally pervaded that kingdom, had not their knowledge of America led them to the investigation?—undoubtedly not; let it be therefore our boast, that we have already taught some of the oldest and wisest nations to explore their rights, as men, and let it be our prayer, that the effects of the revolution may never cease to operate, until they have unshackled all the nations that have firmness enough to resist the fetters of despotism. Without a precedent, and with the experience of but a few years, was the convention called upon to form a system for a people differing from all others we are acquainted with.

The first knowledge necessary for us to acquire, was a knowledge of the people for whom this system was to be

formed; for unless we were acquainted with their situation, their habits, opinions, and resources, it would be impossible to form a government upon adequate or practicable principles.

If we examine the reasons which have given rise to the distinctions of rank that at present prevail in Europe, we shall find that none of them do, or in all probability ever will, exist in the union.

The only distinction that may take place is that of wealth. Riches, no doubt, will ever have their influence, and where they are suffered to increase to large amounts in a few hands, there they may become dangerous to the public—particularly when from the cheapness of labour, and the scarcity of money, a great proportion of the people are poor. These, however, are dangers, that I think we have very little to apprehend, for these reasons—one is from the destruction of the right of primogeniture—by which means, the estates of intestates are equally to be divided among all their children—a provision no less consonant to the principles of a republican government, than it is to those of general equity and parental affection. To endeavour to raise a name, by accumulating property in one branch of a family, at the expence of others, equally related and deserving, is a vanity, no less unjust and cruel, than dangerous to the interest of liberty—it is a practice no wise state will ever encourage or tolerate. In the northern and eastern states such distinctions among children are seldom heard of. Laws have been long since passed in all of them, destroying the right of primogeniture; and as laws never fail to have a powerful influence upon the manners of a people, we may suppose that in future an equal division of property among children will in general take place in all the states—and thus one means of amassing inordinate wealth in the hands of individuals be, as it ought, for ever removed.

Another reason is that in the eastern and northern states, the landed property is nearly equally divided—very few have large bodies, and there are few that have not small tracts.

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merce. They are frugal in their manner of living. Plain tables, clothing, and furniture prevail in their houses, and expensive appearances are avoided. Among the landed interest, it may be truly said, there are few of them rich, and few of them very poor: nor while the states are capable of supporting so many more inhabitants than they contain at present—while so vast a territory on our frontier remain uncultivated and unexplored—while the means of subsistence are so much within every man's power, are those dangerous distinctions of fortune to be expected, which at present prevail in other countries.

The people of the union may be classed as follows.

Commercial men, who will be of consequence or not in the political scale, as commerce may be made an object of the attention of government. As far as I am able to judge, and presuming that proper sentiments will ultimately prevail upon this subject, it does not appear to me that the commercial line will ever have much influence in the politics of the union. Foreign trade is one of the enemies against which we must be extremely guarded—more so than against any other, as none will ever have a more unfavourable operation. I consider it as the root of our present public distress—as the plentiful source from which our future national calamities must flow, unless great care is taken to prevent it. Divided as we are from the old world, we should have nothing to do with their politics, and as little as possible with their commerce—they can never improve, but must inevitably corrupt us.

Another class is that of professional men, who, from their education, and pursuits, must ever have a considerable influence, while your government retains the republican principle, and its affairs are agitated in assemblies of the people.

The third, with whom I will connect mechanical are the landed interest—the owners and cultivators of the soil—the men attached to the truest interests of their country, from those motives, which always bind and secure the affections of a nation; in these consist the great body of the

people, and here rests, and I hope ever will continue, all the authority of our government.

I remember once to have seen in the writings of a very celebrated author upon national wealth, the following remark. “Finally,” says he, “there are but three ways for a nation to acquire wealth, the first is by war, as the Romans did in plundering their conquered neighbours—this is robbery. The second is by commerce, which is generally cheating. The third is by agriculture the only honest way: wherein a man receives a real increase of the seed thrown into the ground, in a kind of continual miracle wrought by the hand of God in his favour, as a reward for his innocent life and virtuous industry.”

I do not agree with him so far as to suppose that commerce is generally cheating—I think there are some kinds of commerce not only fair and valuable, but such as ought to be encouraged by government—I agree with him in this general principle, that all the great objects of government should be subservient to the increase of agriculture and the support of the landed interest, and that commerce should only be so far attended to, as it may serve to improve and strengthen them; that the object of a republic is to render its citizens virtuous and happy; and that an unlimited foreign commerce can seldom fail to have a contrary tendency.

These classes compose the people of the union: and fortunately for their harmony, they may be said in a great measure to be connected with and dependent upon each other.

The merchant is dependent upon the planter, as the purchaser of his imports and as furnishing him with the means of his remittances. The professional men depend upon both for employment in their respective pursuits, and are in their turn useful to both. The landholder, though the most independent of the three, is still in some measure obliged to the merchant for furnishing him at home with a ready sale for his productions.

From this mutual dependence, and the statement I have made respecting the situation of the people of the union—I am led to conclude, that mediocrity of fortune is a leading fea-

ture in our national character; that most of the causes which lead to destructions of fortune among other nations being removed, and causes of equality existing with us, which are not to be found among them, we may with safety assert that the great body of national wealth is nearly equally in the hands of the people, among whom there are few dangerously rich, and few miserably poor, that we may congratulate ourselves with living under the blessings of a mild and equal government, which knows no distinctions, but those of merit or of talents—under a government whose honours and offices are equally open to the exertions of all her citizens, and which adopts virtue and worth for her own, wherefoever she can find them.

Another distinguishing feature in our union is its division into individual states, differing in extent of territory, manners population, and products.

Those who are acquainted with the eastern states—the reason of their original migration, and their present habits and principles, well know that they are essentially different from those of the middle and southern states—that they retain all those opinions respecting religion and government, which first induced their ancestors to cross the atlantic, and that they are perhaps more purely republican in habit and sentiment—than any other part of the union. The inhabitants of New York, and the eastern part of New Jersey, originally Dutch settlements, seem to have altered less than might have been expected in the course of a century: indeed the greatest part of New York may still be considered as a Dutch settlement, the people in the interior country generally using that language in their families, and having very little varied their ancient customs. Pennsylvania and Delaware are nearly one half inhabited by quakers, whose passive principles upon questions of government—and rigid opinions in private life render them extremely different from either the citizens of the eastern or southern states. Maryland was originally a roman catholic colony, and a great number of their inhabitants, some of them the most wealthy and

cultivated, are still of this persuasion: it is unnecessary for me to state the striking difference in sentiment and habits which must always exist between the independents of the east—the calvinists and quakers of the middle states—and the roman catholics of Maryland; but striking as this is—it is not to be compared with the difference that there is between the inhabitants of the northern and southern states. When I say southern I mean Maryland, and the states to the southward of her—here we may truly observe, that nature has drawn as strong marks of distinction in the habits and manners of the people, as she has in their climate and productions. The southern citizen beholds with a kind of surprise the simple manners of the east, and is too often induced to entertain undervalued opinions of the apparent parity of the quaker—while they in their turn seem concerned at what they term the extravagance and dissipation of their southern friends; and reprobate as an unpardonable, moral and political evil, the dominion they hold over a part of the human race. The inconveniencies which too frequently attend these differences in habits and opinions among the citizens that compose the union, are not a little increased by the variety of their state governments: for as I have already observed, the constitutions or laws under which a people live, never fail to have a powerful effect upon their manners. We know that all the states have adhered in their forms to the republican principle, though they have differed widely in their opinions of the mode best calculated to preserve it.

In Pennsylvania and Georgia the whole powers of government are lodged in a legislative body, of a single branch over which there is no controul—nor are their executives or judicials, from their connexion and necessary dependence on the legislature, capable of strictly executing their respective offices. In all the other states, except Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York, they are only so far improved as to have a legislative with two branches, which completely involve and swallow up all the powers of their government: in neither of these, are the judicial executive placed in that firm or inde-

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pendent situation which can alone secure the safety of the people or the just administration of the laws. In Maryland, one branch of their legislature is a senate, chosen for five years, by electors chosen by the people. The knowledge and firmness which this body have upon all occasions displayed, not only in the exercise of their legislative duties, but in withstanding and defeating such of the projects of the other house as appeared to them founded in local and personal motives, have long since convinced me the senate of Maryland is the best model of a senate that has yet been offered to the union: that it is capable of correcting many of the vices of the other parts of their constitution, and in a great measure atoning for those defects, which, in common with the states I have mentioned, are but too evident in their execution—the want of stability and independence, in the judicial and executive departments.

In Massachusetts, we find the principle of legislation more improved by the revisionary power which is given to their governor and the independence of their judges.

In New-York the same improvement in legislation has taken place as in Massachusetts; but here, from the executive's being elected by the great body of the people—holding his office for three years, and being re-eligible, from the appointment to offices being taken from the legislature, and placed in a select council, I think their constitution is, upon the whole, the best in the union—its faults are want of permanent salaries to their judges, and giving to their executive the nomination to offices, which is in fact giving him the appointment.

It does not, however, appear to me, that this can be called a vice of their system, as I have always been of opinion that the insisting upon the right to nominate was an usurpation of the executive, not warranted by the letter or meaning of their constitution.

These are the outlines of their various forms; in few of which are their executive or judicial apartments wisely constructed, or that solid distinction adopted between the branches of their legislative, which can alone provide for the influence of different principles in their operation.

Much difficulty was expected from the extent of country to be governed. All the republics we read of, either in the ancient or modern world, have been extremely limited in territory. We know of none a tenth part so large as the united states. Indeed we are hardly able to determine, from the lights we are furnished with, whether the governments we have heard of under the names of republics, really deserved them, or whether the ancients ever had any just or proper ideas upon the subject—of this doctrine of representation, the fundamental of a republic, they certainly were ignorant. If they were in possession of any other safe or practicable principles, they have long since been lost, and forgotten to the world. Among the other honours therefore that have been reserved for the American union, not the least inconsiderable of them is, that of defining a mixed system, by which a people may govern themselves, possessing all the virtues and benefits, and avoiding all the dangers and inconveniences of the three simple forms.

I have said that the ancient confederacies, as far as we are acquainted with them covered but an inconsiderable territory.

Among the moderns, in our sense of the words, there is no such system as a confederate republic—there are, indeed, some small states, whose interior governments are democratic, but these are too inconsiderable to afford information. The Swiss cantons are only connected by alliances. The Germanic body is merely an association of potentates, most of them absolute in their own dominions, and as to the United Netherlands, it is such a confusion of states and assemblies, that I have always been at a loss what species of government to term it: according to my ideas of the word, it is not a republic: for I conceive it as indispensable in a republic, that all authority should flow from the people: in the United Netherlands the people have no interference either in the election of their magistrates, or in the affairs of government. From the experiment, therefore, never having been fairly made—opinions have been entertained and sanctioned by high authorities, that republics are only suited to small societies. This opinion has

its advocates among all those, who, not having a sufficient share of industry or talents to investigate for themselves, easily adopt the opinions of such authors as are supposed to have written with ability upon the subject. But I am led to believe other opinions begin to prevail—opinions more to be depended upon, because they result from juster principles.

We begin now to suppose that the evils of a republic dissension, tumult, and faction, are more dangerous in small societies, than in large confederate states. In the first, the people are easily assembled and inflamed—are always exposed to those convulsive tumults of infatuation and enthusiasm, which often overturn all public order. In the latter, the multitude will be less imperious, and consequently less inconsistent, because the extensive territory of each republic, and the number of its citizens, will not permit them all to be assembled at one time, and in one place: the sphere of government being enlarged, it will not easily be in the power of factious and designing men to infect the whole people—it will give an opportunity to the more temperate and prudent part of the society, to correct the licentiousness and injustice of the rest. We have strong proofs of the truth of this opinion in the examples of Rhode-Island and Massachusetts—instances which have perhaps been critically afforded by an all-merciful providence, to evince the truth of a position extremely important in our present enquiries. In the former, the most contracted society in the union, we have seen their licentiousness so far prevail as to seize the reins of government, and oppress the people by laws the most infamous that have ever disgraced a civilized nation. In the latter, where the sphere was enlarged, similar attempts have been rendered abortive by the zeal and activity of those who were opposed to them.

As the constitution before you is intended to represent states as well as citizens I have thought it necessary to make these remarks, because there are no doubt, a great number of the members of this body, who, from their particular pursuits, have not had an opportunity of minutely investigating them, and because it will be impossi-

ble for the house fairly to determine whether the government is a proper one or not, unless they are in some degree acquainted with the people and the states for whose use it is instituted.

For a people thus situated is a government to be formed—a people who have the justest opinions of their civil and religious rights, and who have risked every thing in asserting and defending them.

In every government, there necessarily exists a power from which there is no appeal, and which for that reason may be termed absolute and uncontrollable.

The person or assembly in whom this power resides, is called the sovereign or supreme power of the states; with us the sovereignty of the union is in the people.

One of the best political and moral writers* I have met with, enumerates three principal forms of government, which he says, are to be regarded rather as the simple forms, by some combination and intermixture of which all actual governments are composed, than as any where existing in a pure and elementary state. These forms are:

1st. Despotism, or absolute monarchy, where the legislature is in a single person.

2. An aristocracy, where the legislature is in a select assembly, the members of which either fill up by election, the vacancies in their own body, or succeed to it by inheritance, property, tenure of lands, or in respect of some personal right or qualification.

3d. A republic, where the people at large, either collectively or by representation, form the legislature.

The separate advantages of monarchy, are unity of counsel, decision, secrecy, and dispatch: the military strength and energy resulting from these qualities of government—the exclusion of popular and aristocratical contentions—the preventing, by a known rule of succession, all competition for the supreme power, thereby repressing the dangerous hopes and intrigues of aspiring citizens.

The dangers of a monarchy are, tyranny, expence, exaction, military

* Paley a deacon of Carlisle. 2d volume 174 and 175.

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domination, unnecessary wars, ignorance in the governors of the interest and accommodation of the people, and a consequent deficiency of salutary regulations—want of constancy and uniformity in the rules of government, and proceeding from thence—insecurity of person and property.

The separate advantage of an Aristocracy is, the wisdom which may be expected from experience and education. A permanent council naturally possesses experience, and the members will always be educated with a view to the stations they are destined by their birth to occupy.

The mischiefs of an Aristocracy are, dissensions in the ruling orders of the state—an oppression of the lower orders by the privilege of the higher, and by laws partial to the separate interests of the law makers.

The advantages of a republic are, liberty—exemption from needless restrictions—equal laws—public spirit—aversion to war—frugality—above all, the opportunities afforded to men of every description, of producing their abilities and councils to public observation, and the exciting to the service of the common wealth the faculties of its best citizens.

The evils of a republic are, dissensions—tumults—faction—the attempts of ambitious citizens to possess power—the confusion and clamour which are the inevitable consequences of propounding questions of state to the discussion of large popular assemblies—the delay and disclosure of the public councils—and too often the imbecility of the laws.

A mixed government is composed by the combination of two or more of the simple forms above described: and in whatever proportion each form enters into the constitution of a government, in the same proportion may both the advantages and evils which have been attributed to that form be expected.

The citizens of the United States would reprobate with indignation the idea of a monarchy. But the essential qualities of a monarchy—unity of council, vigour—secrecy—and dispatch, are qualities essential in every government.

While, therefore, we have reserved to the people, the fountain of all pow-

er, the periodical election of their first magistrate—while we have defined his powers, and bound them to such limits as will effectually prevent his usurping authorities dangerous to the general welfare—we have at the same time endeavoured to infuse into this department that degree of vigour which will enable the president to execute the laws with energy and dispatch.

By constructing the senate on rotative principles, we have removed, as will be shewn upon another occasion, all danger of an aristocratic influence; while, by electing the members for six years, we hope that we have given to this part of the system all the advantages of an aristocracy—wisdom, experience, and a consistency of measures.

The house of representatives, in which the people of the union are to be biennially elected by them. Those appointments are sufficiently short to render the member as dependent as he ought to be upon his constituent.

They are the moving spring of the system. With them all grants of money are to originate: on them depend the wars we shall be engaged in—the fleets and armies we shall raise and support—the salaries we shall pay: in short, on them depend, the appropriation of money, and consequently all the arrangements of government. With this powerful influence of the purse, they will be always able to restrain the usurpations of the other departments, while their own licentiousness will in its turn be checked and corrected by them.

I trust that when we proceed to review the system by sections—it will be found to contain all those necessary provisions and restraints, which, while they enable the general government to guard and protect our common rights as a nation—to restore to us these blessings of commerce and mutual confidence which have been so long removed and impaired—will secure to us those rights, which as the citizens of a state, will make us happy and content at home—as the citizens of the union respectable abroad.

How different Mr. President, is this government constructed from any we have known among us.

In their individual capacities as citizens, the people are proportionably represented in the house of representa-

tives—here they who are to pay and to support the expences of government, have the purse strings in their hands—here the people hold and feel that they possess an influence sufficiently powerful to prevent every undue attempt of the other branches—to maintain that weight in the political scale, which, as the source of all authority they should ever possess—here too the states, whose existence as such we have often heard predicted as precarious, will find in the senate, the guards of their rights as political associations.

On them, I mean the state systems, rests the general fabric!—on their foundation is this magnificent structure of freedom erected—each depending upon supporting and protecting the other: nor, so intimate is the connection, can the one be removed without prostrating the other in ruin: like the head and the body, separate them, and they die.

Far be it from me to suppose that such an attempt should ever be made: the good sense and virtue of our country forbid the idea—to the union we will look up, as to the temple of our freedom—a temple founded in the affections, and supported by the virtue of the people—here we will pour out our gratitude to the author of all good, for suffering us to participate in the rights of a people who govern themselves.

Is there, at this moment, a nation upon earth that enjoys this right—where the true principles of representation are understood and practised—and where all authority flows from, and returns at stated periods to, the people? I answer there is not! can a government be said to be free where these rights do not exist? It cannot! on what depends the enjoyment of these rare, these inestimable privileges?—on the firmness, on the power, of the union to protect and defend them.

How grateful, then, should we be, that, at this important period—a period important, not to us alone, but to the general rights of mankind, so much harmony and concession should prevail throughout the states—that the public opinion should be so much actuated by candor, and an attention to their general interests—that disdaining to be governed by the narrow mo-

tives of state policy, they have liberally determined to dedicate a part of their advantages to the support of that government, from which they received them; to fraud—to force, or accident all the governments we now have owed their births. To the philosophic mind how new and awful an instance do the united states at present exhibit in the political world: They exhibit, sir, the first instance of a people, who, being dissatisfied with their government—unattached by foreign force, and undisturbed by domestic uneasiness—coolly and deliberately, resort to the virtue and good sense of their country, for a correction of their public errors.

It must be obvious, that without a superintending government, it is impossible the liberties of this country can long be secured.

Single and unconnected, how weak and contemptible are the largest of our states? how unable to protect themselves from external or domestic insult? how incompetent to national purposes, would even partial union, be? how liable to intestine wars and confusion? how little able to secure the blessings of peace?

Let us therefore be careful in strengthening the union—let us remember that we are bound by vigilant and attentive neighbours—who view with a jealous eye, our rise to empire.

Let us remember that we are bound in gratitude to our northern bretheren, to aid them in the recovery of those rights which they have lost in obtaining for us an extension of our commerce, and the security of our liberties—let us not be unmindful, that those who are weak, and may expect support, must in their turn be ready to support it.

We are called upon to execute an important trust—to examine the principles of the constitution before you—and in the name of the people to receive or reject it.

I have no doubt but we shall do this with attention and harmony, and flatter myself, that at the conclusion of our discussions, we shall find, that it is not only expedient, but safe and honourable to adopt it.



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Result of the proceedings of the convention of the state of North Carolina, appointed to consider the constitution, proposed by the late federal convention.

In convention, August 2, 1788.

RESOLVED, that a declaration of rights, asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most ambiguous and exceptionable parts of the said constitution of government, ought to be laid before congress, or the convention of the states that shall or may be called for the purpose of amending the said constitution, for their consideration, previous to the ratification of the constitution aforesaid, on the part of the state of North Carolina.

Declaration of rights.

I. That there are certain natural rights, of which men, when they form a social compact, cannot deprive or divest their posterity, among which are the enjoyment of life, and liberty, with the means of acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

II. That all power is naturally vested in, and consequently derived from the people; that magistrates, therefore, are their trustees, and agents, and at all times amenable to them.

III. That government ought to be instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people; and that the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression, is absurd, slavish, and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind.

IV. That no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate public emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services; which not being descendible, neither ought the offices of magistrate, legislator, or judge, or any other public office, to be hereditary.

V. That the legislative, executive, and judiciary powers of government should be separate and distinct; and, that the members of the two first may be restrained from oppression, by feel-

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ing and participating the public burdens, they should, at fixed periods, be reduced to a private station, return into the mass of the people; and the vacancies be supplied by certain and regular elections; in which, all or any part of the former members to be eligible or ineligible, as the rules of the constitution of government, and the laws shall direct.

VI. That elections of representatives in the legislative ought to be free and frequent, and all men having sufficient evidence of permanent common interest with, and attachment to the community, ought to have the right of suffrage: and no aid, charge, tax, or fee, can be set, rated, or levied upon the people without their own consent, or that of their representatives, so elected, nor can they be bound by any law, to which they have not in like manner assented for the public good.

VII. That all power of suspending laws, or the execution of laws by any authority without the consent of the representatives of the people, in the legislature, is injurious to their rights, and ought not to be exercised.

VIII. That in all capital and criminal prosecutions, a man hath a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses, to call for evidence, and be allowed counsel in his favour, and to a fair and speedy trial by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent he cannot be found guilty (except in the government of the land and naval forces) nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself.

IX. That no freeman ought to be taken, imprisoned, or dis seized of his freehold, liberties, privileges, or franchises, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his life, liberty, or property, but by the law of the land.

X. That every freeman, restrained of his liberty, is entitled to a remedy to enquire into the lawfulness thereof, and to remove the same, if unlawful; and that such remedy ought not to be denied or delayed.

XI. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, the ancient trial by jury is one of the greatest securities to

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the rights of the people, and ought to remain sacred and inviolable.

XII. That every freeman ought to find a certain remedy by recourse to the laws for all injuries and wrongs he may receive in his person, property, or character. He ought to obtain right and justice freely without sale, completely and without denial, promptly and without delay; and that all establishments, or regulations contravening these, are oppressive and unjust.

XIII. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

XIV. That every freeman has a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches, and seizures of his person, his papers, and property: all warrants, therefore, to search suspected places, or seize any freeman, his papers, or property, without information upon oath (or affirmation of a person religiously scrupulous of taking an oath) of legal and sufficient cause, are grievous and oppressive; and all general warrants to search suspected places, or to apprehend any suspected person, without specially naming or describing the place or person, are dangerous, and ought not to be granted.

XV. That the people have a right, peaceably to assemble together, to consult for the common good, or to instruct their representatives; and that every freeman has a right to petition or apply to the legislature for redress of grievances.

XVI. That the people have a right to freedom of speech, and of writing and publishing their sentiments; that the freedom of the press is one of the greatest bulwarks of liberty, and ought not to be violated.

XVII. That the people have a right to keep and bear arms; that a well regulated militia, composed of the body of the people, trained to arms, is the proper, natural, and safe defence of a free state. That standing armies, in time of peace, are dangerous to liberty, and therefore ought to be avoided, as far as the circumstances and protection of the community will admit; and that in all cases, the military should be under strict subordination to, and governed by the civil power.

XVIII. That no soldier in time of peace ought to be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; and in time of war, in such manner only as the laws direct.

XIX. That any person religiously scrupulous of bearing arms, ought to be exempted, upon payment of an equivalent to employ another to bear arms in his stead.

XX. That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men have an equal, natural, and unalienable right, to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience; and that no particular religious sect or society ought to be favoured or established by law in preference to others.

Amendments to the constitution.

I. That each state in the union shall, respectively, retain every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this constitution delegated to the congress of the united states, or to the departments of the federal government.

II. That there shall be one representative for every thirty thousand according to the enumeration or census, mentioned in the constitution, until the whole number of representatives amounts to two hundred; after which, that number shall be continued or increased, as congress shall direct, upon the principles fixed in the constitution, by apportioning the representatives of each state to some greater number of people from time to time, as population increases.

III. When congress shall lay direct taxes or excises, they shall immediately inform the executive power of each state, of the quota of such state, according to the census herein directed, which is proposed to be thereby raised: and if the legislature of any state shall pass a law, which shall be effectual for raising such quota at the time required by congress, the taxes and excises laid by congress shall not be collected in such state.

IV. That the members of the senate and house of representatives shall be ineligible to, and incapable of holding any civil office under the authority

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of the united states, during the time for which they shall, respectively, be elected.

V. That the journals of the proceedings of the senate and house of representatives shall be published at least once in every year, except such parts thereof, relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment may require secrecy.

VI. That a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of the public money shall be published at least once in every year.

VII. That no commercial treaty shall be ratified without the concurrence of two-thirds of the whole number of the members of the senate: and no treaty, ceding, contracting, or restraining, or suspending the territorial rights or claims of the united states, or any of them, or their, or any of their rights or claims to fishing in the American seas, or navigating the American rivers, shall be made, but in cases of the most urgent and extreme necessity; nor shall any such treaty be ratified without the concurrence of three-fourths of the whole number of the members of both houses respectively.

VIII. That no navigation law, or law regulating commerce, shall be passed without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in both houses.

IX. That no standing army or regular troops shall be raised or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two-thirds of the members present in both houses.

X. That no soldier shall be enlisted for any longer term than four years, except in time of war, and then for no longer term than the continuance of the war.

XI. That each state, respectively, shall have the power to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining its own militia whensoever congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the militia shall not be subject to martial law, except when in actual service in time of war, invasion or rebellion: and when not in actual service of the united states, shall be subject only to such fines, penalties and punishments, as shall be directed or inflicted by the laws of its own state.

XII. That congress shall not de-

clare any state to be in rebellion, without the consent of at least two-thirds of all the members present of both houses.

XIII. That the exclusive power of legislation given to congress over the federal town and its adjacent district, and other places, purchased, or to be purchased by congress, of any of the states, shall extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good government thereof.

XIV. That no person shall be capable of being president of the united states for more than eight years in any term of sixteen years.

XV. That the judicial power of the united states shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such courts of admiralty, as congress may from time to time ordain and establish in any of the different states. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the united states; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the united states shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, and between parties claiming lands under the grants of different states. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other foreign ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction: in all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction as to matters of law only, except in cases of equity, and of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, in which the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the congress shall make. But the judicial power of the united states shall extend to no case where the cause of action shall have originated before the ratification of this constitution, except in disputes between states about their territory; disputes between persons claiming lands under the grants of different states, and suits for debts due to the united states.

XVI. That in criminal prosecutions, no man shall be restrained in the exercise of the usual and accus-

tomed right of challenging or excepting to the jury.

XVII. That congress shall not alter, modify, or interfere in the times, places, or manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, or either of them, except when the legislature of any state shall neglect, refuse, or be disabled, by invasion or rebellion, to prescribe the same.

XVIII. That those clauses, which declare that congress shall not exercise certain powers, be not interpreted in any manner whatsoever to extend the powers of congress; but that they be construed either as making exceptions to the specified powers where this shall be the case; or otherwise, as inserted merely for greater caution.

XIX. That the laws, ascertaining the compensation of senators and representatives for their services, be postponed in their operation, until after the election of representatives immediately succeeding the passing thereof, that excepted, which shall first be passed on the subject.

XX. That some tribunal, other than the senate, be provided for trying impeachments of senators.

XXI. That the salary of a judge shall not be increased or diminished during his continuance in office, otherwise than by general regulations of salary which may take place, on a revision of the subject at stated periods of not less than seven years, to commence from the time such salaries shall be first ascertained by congress.

XXII. That congress erect no company of merchants with exclusive advantages of commerce.

XXIII. That no treaties, which shall be directly opposed to the existing laws of the united states in congress assembled, shall be valid until such laws shall be repealed, or made conformable to such treaty; nor shall any treaty be valid which is contradictory to the constitution of the united states.

XXIV. That the latter part of the fifth paragraph * of the ninth section

NOTE.

* In the constitution, this paragraph runs thus: "Nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another."—C.

of the first article be altered to read thus—"nor shall vessels bound to a particular state, be obliged to enter or pay duties in any other; nor when bound from any one of the states, be obliged to clear in another."

XXV. That congress shall not directly or indirectly, either by themselves or through the judiciary, interfere with any one of the states in the redemption of paper money already emitted, and now in circulation, or in liquidating and discharging the public securities of any one of the states: but each and every state shall have the exclusive right of making such laws and regulations for the above purposes, as they shall think proper.

XXVI. That congress shall not introduce foreign troops into the united states without the consent of two thirds of the members present of both houses.



Proceedings of the late meeting at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania.

Harrisburg, Sept. 3, 1788.

AGREEABLE to a circular letter which originated in the country of Cumberland, inviting to a conference such of the citizens of this state, who conceive that a revision of the federal system, lately proposed for the government of these united states, is necessary; a number of gentlemen from the city of Philadelphia, and counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, Lancaster, Cumberland, Berks, Northumberland, Bedford, Fayette, Washington, Franklin, Dauphin and Huntingdon, assembled at this place, for the said purpose, viz.

Hon. George Bryan, esq.
Charles Pettit,
Blair M'Clenahan,
Richard Backhouse,
James Hanna,
Joseph Gardner,
James Mercer,
Benjamin Blyth,
Robert Whitehill,
John Jordan,
William Sterrett,
William Rodgers,
Adam Orth,
John Rodgers,
Thomas Murray,
Robert M'Kee,

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John Kean,
William Pettricken,
Jonathan Hoge,
John Bishop,
Daniel Montgomery,
John Lytle,
John Dickey,
Hon. John Smilie,
Albert Gallatin,
James Marhall,
Benjamin Elliott,
Richard Baird,
James Crooks,
John A. Hanna,
Daniel Bradley,
Robert Smith,
James Anderson.

Blair M'Clenachan, esq. was unanimously elected chairman, and John A. Hanna, esq. secretary.

After free discussion, and mature deliberation had upon the subject before them, the following resolutions and propositions were adopted.

The ratification of the federal constitution having formed a new era in the American world, highly interesting to all the citizens of the united States, it is not less the duty than the privilege of every citizen, to examine with attention the principles and probable effects of a system, on which the happiness or misery of the present, as well as future generations, so much depends. In the course of such examination, many of the good citizens of the State of Pennsylvania have found their apprehensions excited, that the constitution, in its present form, contains in it some principles, which may be perverted to purposes injurious to the rights of free citizens, and some ambiguities which may probably lead to contentions incompatible with order and good government: in order to remedy these inconveniences, and to avert the apprehended dangers, it has been thought expedient that delegates, chosen by those who wish for early amendments in the said constitution, should meet together for the purpose of deliberating on the subject, and uniting in some constitutional plan for obtaining the amendments which they may deem necessary.

We, the conferees, assembled for the purpose aforesaid, agree in opinion:

That a federal government only, can preserve the liberties and secure the

happiness of the inhabitants of a country so extensive as these united States: and experience having taught us, that the ties of our union, under the articles of confederation, were so weak as to deprive us of some of the greatest advantages we had a right to expect from it, we are fully convinced that a more efficient government is indispensibly necessary; but although the constitution, proposed for the united States, is likely to obviate most of the inconveniences we laboured under; yet several parts of it appear so exceptionable to us, that we are clearly of opinion considerable amendments are essentially necessary: in full confidence, however, of obtaining a revision of such exceptionable parts, by a general convention, and from a desire to harmonize with our fellow citizens, we are induced to acquiesce in the organization of the said constitution.

We are sensible that a large number of the citizens both of this and the other States, who gave their assent to its being carried into execution, previous to any amendments, were actuated more by fear of the dangers that might arise from delays, than by a conviction of its being perfect; we therefore hope they will concur with us in pursuing every peaceable method of obtaining a speedy revision of the constitution in the mode therein provided; and when we reflect on the present circumstances of the union, we can entertain no doubt that motives of conciliation, and the dictates of policy and prudence, will conspire to induce every man of true federal principles, to give his support to a measure, which is not only calculated to recommend the new constitution to the approbation and support of every class of citizens, but even necessary to prevent the total defection of some members of the union.

Strongly impressed with those sentiments, we have agreed to the following resolutions:

I. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the people of this State to acquiesce in the organization of the said government; but although we thus accord in its organization, we by no means lose sight of the grand object of obtaining very considerable amendments and alterations, which we consider essential to preserve the

peace and harmony of the union, and those invaluable privileges for which so much blood and treasure have been recently expended.

II. *Resolved*, That it is necessary to obtain a speedy revision of said constitution by a general convention.

III. *Resolved*, That in order to effect this desirable end, a petition be presented to the legislature of this state requesting that honourable body to take the earliest opportunity to make application for that purpose, to the new congress.

The petition proposed, is as follows:

To the honourable the representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met :

The petition and representation of the subscribers,

HUMBLY SHEW,

THAT your petitioners possess sentiments completely federal: being convinced that a confederacy of republican states, and no other, can secure political liberty, happiness and safety, throughout a territory so extended as the united states of America. They are well apprized of the necessity of devolving extensive powers to congress, and of vesting the supreme legislature with every power and resource of a general nature; and consequently they acquiesce in the general system of government framed by the late federal convention; in full confidence, however, that the same will be revised without delay: for, however worthy of approbation the general principles and outlines of the system may be, your petitioners conceive that amendments in some parts of the plan are essential, not only to the preservation of such rights and privileges as ought to be reserved in the respective states, and in the citizens thereof, but to the fair and unembarrassed operation of the government in its various departments. And as provision is made in the constitution itself, for the making such amendments as may be deemed necessary—and your petitioners are desirous of obtaining the amendments which occur to them as more immediately desirable and necessary, in the mode admitted by such provision:

They pray that your honourable house, as the representatives of the people in this commonwealth, will, in the course of your present session, take such measures, as you, in your wisdom, shall deem most effectual and proper, to obtain a revision and amendment of the constitution of the united states, in such parts, and in such manner, as have been or shall be pointed out by the conventions or assemblies of the respective states; and that such revision be, by a general convention of representatives from the several states in the union.

Your petitioners consider the amendments pointed out in the propositions hereto subjoined as essentially necessary; and as such, they suggest them to your notice, submitting to your wisdom the order in which they shall be presented to the consideration of the united states.

The amendments proposed are as follow—viz.

I. THAT congress shall not exercise any powers whatever, but such as are expressly given to that body by the constitution of the united states; nor shall any authority, power, or jurisdiction, be assumed or exercised by the executive, or judiciary departments of the union under colour or pretence of construction or fiction: but all the rights of sovereignty, which are not by the said constitution expressly and plainly vested in the congress, shall be deemed to remain with, and shall be exercised by the several states in union, according to their respective constitutions; and that every reserve of the rights of individuals, made by the several constitutions of the states in union, to the citizens and inhabitants of each state respectively, shall remain inviolate, except so far as they are expressly and manifestly yielded or narrowed by the national constitution.

Article 1. section 2, paragraph 3.

II. That the number of representatives be for the present, one for every twenty thousand inhabitants, according to the present estimated numbers in the several states, and continue in that proportion until the whole number of representatives shall amount to two hundred; and then to be so proportioned and modified as not to exceed that number, until the proportion

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one of one representative for every thirty thousand inhabitants; shall amount to the said number of two hundred.

Section 3.

III. That senators, though chosen for six years, shall be liable to be recalled, or superseded by other appointments, by the respective legislatures of the states at any time.

Section 4.

IV. That congress shall not have power to make or alter regulations concerning the time, place, and manner of electing senators and representatives, except in case of neglect or refusal by the state to make regulations for the purpose: and then only for such time as such neglect or refusal shall continue.

Section 8.

V. That when congress shall require supplies, which are to be raised by direct taxes, they shall demand from the several states their respective quotas thereof, giving a reasonable time to each state to procure and pay the same; and if any state shall refuse, neglect, or omit to raise and pay the same within such limited time, then congress shall have power to assess, levy, and collect the quota of such state, together with interest for the same, from the time of such delinquency, upon the inhabitants and estates therein, in such manner as they shall by law direct: provided that no poll-tax be imposed.

Section 8.

VI. That no standing army of regular troops shall be raised or kept up in time of peace, without the consent of two-thirds of both houses in congress.

Section 8.

VII. That the clause respecting the exclusive legislation over a district not exceeding ten miles square, be qualified by a proviso that such right of legislation extend only to such regulations as respect the police and good order thereof.

Article 1, section 8.

VIII. That each state respectively shall have power to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia thereof, whensoever congress shall omit or neglect to provide for the same. That the militia shall not be subject to martial law, but when in actual service, in time of war, inva-

sion, or rebellion: and when not in the actual service of the united states, shall be subject to such fines, penalties, and punishments only, as shall be directed or inflicted by the laws of its own state: nor shall the militia of any state be continued in actual service longer than two months under any call of congress, without the consent of the legislature of such state, or, in their recess, the executive authority thereof.

Section 9.

IX. That the clause respecting vessels bound to or from any one of the states, be explained.

Article 3, section 1.

X. That congress establish no court other than the supreme court, except such as shall be necessary for determining causes of admiralty jurisdiction.

Section 2, paragraph 2.

XI. That a proviso be added at the end of the second clause of the second section, of the third article, to the following effect, viz. Provided, that such appellate jurisdiction, in all cases of common law cognizance, be by writ of error, and confined to matters of law only; and that no such writ of error shall be admitted, except in revenue cases, unless the matter in controversy exceed the value of three thousand dollars.

Article 6, paragraph 2.

XII. That to article 6, clause 2, be added the following proviso, viz. Provided always, that no treaty which shall hereafter be made, shall be deemed or construed to alter or affect any law of the united states, or of any particular state, until such treaty shall have been laid before and assented to by the house of representatives in congress.

Resolved, That the foregoing proceedings be committed to the chairman for publication.

Blair M'Clenachan, chairman.

Attest. John A. Hanna, sec.



Statement of a cause decided in the court of common pleas of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, September, 1781.

A Foreign attachment was issued against the commonwealth of Virginia, at the suit of Simon Nathan: and a quantity of clothing, im-

ported from France, belonging to that state, was attached in Philadelphia. The delegates in congress from Virginia, conceiving this a violation of the laws of nations, applied to the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania, by whom the sheriff was ordered to give up the goods.

The council for the plaintiff, finding that the sheriff suppressed the writ, and made no return of his proceedings, obtained, September 20, 1781, a rule that the sheriff should return the writ, unless cause was shewn.

They contended that the sheriff was a ministerial officer; that he could not dispute the authority of the court out of which the writ issues, but was bound to execute and return it at his own peril. 6 Co. 54.

That those cases in England, where the sheriff was not compelled to return writs issued against ambassadors or their retinue, depended upon the stat. 7 Ann. c. 12. which did not extend to this state.

The attorney general, on the part of the sheriff, and by direction of the supreme executive council, shewed cause, and prayed that the rule might be discharged.

He premised, that though the several states, which form our federal republic, had, by the confederation, ceded many of the prerogatives of sovereignty to the united states, yet these voluntary engagements did not injure their independence on each other; but that each was a sovereign, "with every power, jurisdiction, and right, not expressly given up."

He then laid down two positions. First: that every kind of process, issued against a sovereign, is a violation of the laws of nations; and is in itself null and void. Secondly: that a sheriff cannot be compelled to serve or return a void writ.

The first point he endeavoured to prove, by considering, first, the nature of sovereignty; and, secondly, the rules of law, relative to process issued against ambassadors, the representatives of sovereigns.

He said, that all sovereigns are in a state of equality and independence, exempt from each other's jurisdiction, and accountable to no power on earth, unless with their own consent.

That sovereigns, with regard to

each other, were always considered as individuals in a state of nature, where all enjoy the same prerogatives, where there could be no subordination to a supreme authority, nor any judge to define their rights, or redress their wrongs.

That all jurisdiction implies superiority over the party, and authority in the judge to execute his decrees: but there could be no superiority, where there was a perfect equality—no authority, where there was an entire independence.

That the king of England, as sovereign of the nation, is said to be independent of all, and subject to no one but God: and his crown is styled imperial, on purpose to assert that he owes no kind of subjection to any potentate on earth. No compulsory action can be brought against him, even in his own courts.

That a sovereign, when in a foreign country, is always considered by civilized nations, as exempt from its jurisdiction, privileged from arrests, and not subject to its laws.

Hence this inference was drawn, that the court having no jurisdiction over Virginia, all its process against that state, must be *coram non jure*, and consequently void. 1 Vatt. p. 2. 133 2 Vatt. 158. 1 Blackst. 141. 5 Bac. 450.

It was then observed, that there being no instance in our law books, of any process against a sovereign, it was proper to consider the rules of law relative to process against their representatives.

The statute of Ann was read, with the history of the outrage that gave birth to it; which act declares that all process against the person, or goods, or domestics of an ambassador shall be null and void, and all concerned in issuing or serving it, should be punished as infractors of the laws of nations.

That this statute was not introductory of any rule, but barely declaratory of the laws of nations. That there was nothing new in it, except the clause prescribing a summary mode of punishment. That it was a part of the common law of the land before, and consequently extended to Pennsylvania. 4 Blackst. 67. 3 Burr. 1480. 4 Burr. 2016.

Hence it was concluded, that it

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process against an ambassador be null and void, *a fortiori*, shall it be void if issued against a sovereign.

That the true reason of the minister's exemption from process is the independence and sovereignty of the person he represents. And although by engaging in trade, he may so far divest himself of his public character, as to subject these goods to attachment, yet in every case where he represents his master, his property is sacred. But a sovereign cannot subject himself by implication: he must do it expressly.

That though the goods of a sovereign, as well as of an individual, might be liable for freight, or duties, or subject to forfeiture; yet in those cases, there was a lien on the goods; they were answerable, and the process was *in rem*: in this case, it was *in personam*; and the goods were attached merely to compel the party's appearance to answer the plaintiff's demand. And no sovereign would submit to the indignity of doing this.

Hence it was inferred that the writ was a mere nullity.

II. Upon the second point, authorities were read to explain the case produced by the plaintiff's council, and to shew a distinction between an erroneous and a void writ. That the sheriff was bound to execute and return the writ, although erroneous, if the court had jurisdiction. But when the court had no jurisdiction, the writ was void, and the sheriff was a trespasser if he dared to obey it; a void authority being the same as none. That in England, the sheriffs were never obliged to return a writ, if, upon shewing cause, it appeared that the defendant was a public minister, or one of his domestics. 5 Bac. 431. Salk. 706. 2 Barnes. 1 Will. 20.

That suppressing the writ was not making the sheriff judge, because he was obliged to assign a reason for so doing: and on the legality of that reason the court was now to determine.

He added, that if the sheriff had attached the goods, he was liable to punishment, and to compel him to return his proceedings, was to oblige him to put his offence upon record, and to furnish testimony against himself.

He finally observed, that the writ was void, or it was not. If void, the sheriff need pay no attention to it: if not void, he was obliged to execute it at all events; and if so, these inconveniencies would follow. That any disaffected person, who happened to be a creditor of the united states, might injure our public defence, and retard or ruin the operations of a campaign; that he might issue an attachment against the cannon of general Washington, or seize the public money designed for the payment of his army. That the states united or several, would never submit to put in special bail (which must be done to prevent judgment) and to answer before the tribunal of a sister state.

That the plaintiff was under no peculiar inconvenience. Every creditor of this state or of the united states lay under the same. If his demand was just, Virginia would, upon application, do what was right; if not, and flagrant injustice was done him, he might (if a subject of this state, and entitled to its protection) complain to the executive power of Pennsylvania.

He concluded with observing on the importance of suppressing such measures as the present, at their first appearance, and of preserving the rights of sovereign states inviolate—and prayed that the rule might be discharged.

The counsel for the plaintiff insisted, that though Virginia was a sovereign state, yet this ought not to exempt her property in every case from the laws and jurisdiction of another state. That sovereignty should never be made a plea in bar of justice: and that the true idea of prerogative, was the power of doing good, and not, as it had sometimes been expressed, "the divine right of doing ill."

That every person, and all property within this state, was subject to its jurisdiction, by so being within it, except a sovereign power, and the representative of a sovereign power, with his domestics and effects, which he holds as representative.

That if an ambassador engages in trade, his property so engaged, is liable to attachment, Vat. B. IV. sect. 114. and if a sovereign state turns merchant, and draws or accepts bills of exchange, its property ought in like

manner to be subject to the law-merchant, and answerable in the state where it happens to be imported.

That sovereignty is better represented by persons than things: and as any or all the citizens of Virginia would be amenable to the jurisdiction of this state, if they were to come within its bounds, so there is no reason why property brought here should not be attached as well as the citizen arrested.

That one sovereign may lay duties upon the goods of another: and this appears to have been the sense of congress, by their expressly stipulating in the articles of confederation, that no duties should be laid by one state, on the property of another.

That the goods, which were attached, were certainly liable for their freight: so if they had been imported contrary to law, they were subject to forfeiture: process against them might issue out of this court, and jurisdiction over them be exercised, the sovereignty of Virginia notwithstanding.

That if a vessel belonging to Virginia, should be taken, as prize retaken, and libelled here, Virginia must submit her claim to the decision of the admiralty of Pennsylvania, and could not claim an exemption, on account of her sovereignty.

That a sovereign state may waive its rights—and by the very act of importing merchandize, it subjects itself to the jurisdiction of the country.

That all property in this state is under the protection of the government, and therefore should be answerable in its turn, and amenable to its laws.

That the statute of Ann, though declaratory, is only declaratory of the ideas which that parliament entertained of the laws of nations. These were often erroneous, and could not be binding on us.

That whatever might be the case with regard to foreign ministers, by the articles of confederation, the delegates from Virginia were privileged only in their persons, and not in their goods: and as they represent the state, it was to be presumed, they enjoy every exemption that their sovereign expected or claimed.

They said, that whether Virginia was subject to, or exempt from, the jurisdiction of this state, in the present

instance, was not the point now in question: it was only, whether the sheriff should or should not obey the command of the court.

That by the writ, he was directed to return it to the court, and he was not to withhold the process in contempt of this order, and to stifle the proceedings in their birth.

That the sheriff was to act under the judgment of the court, and if he had any doubt about the validity of the writ, he ought to return it. Then the court might, if cause was shewn, qualify it as illegal.

That his not being obliged to return process against ambassadors, was owing to the statute of Ann: and this exemption was singular, and not to be extended here.

That though a writ might be void, where the court had no jurisdiction of the cause, or issued a writ, which they had no authority to issue: yet the cause here was trespass upon the case, of which the court may hold plea, and the process was a foreign attachment, which they certainly had authority to issue.

That to suffer the sheriff to suppress writs at pleasure, was establishing a dangerous precedent, which in future would be greatly abused.

That the questions upon which this cause depended, were important, and deserved the fullest consideration: and that an appeal from one tribunal to another, was the right and the security of the subject. But if the writ was now to be suppressed, there could be no record to be removed, and the plaintiff was left without remedy.

They finally observed, that this mode of applying to a court of judicature, to decide on the justice of the plaintiff's demand, was every way preferable to that proposed by the attorney general, of sending him to complain to the executive power, who could give him no redress, but by appealing to arms, and involving the state in a war.

They therefore prayed, that the rule might be made absolute.

The court held the matter some days under advisement—and at their next meeting, the president delivered it as the judgment of the court:

That the rule made upon the sheriff, to return the writ issued against

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the commonwealth of Virginia, at the suit of Simon Nathan, should be discharged.

Statement of a cause decided in the court of common pleas, Charleston, August, 1788.

Cart versus Lion.

THIS was an action brought by an indorsee against the indorser of a bond, on the ground, that it was an implied warranty in default of the obligor. The indorsement was in these words, "please pay the contents to I. Cart. I have received value from him, I. Lion." The counsel for the defendant urged two points of defence. 1st. That the plaintiff took the bond as absolute payment. 2d. That even if he did not, he was not liable on the indorsement, a bond not being negotiable. The indorsement was only a mere power to receive, and no implied warranty, but if it were, that the plaintiff should first have sued the obligor, obtained a judgment, and he must be proved insolvent, before the indorser is liable.

The defendant's counsel having established his first ground, the court were clearly of opinion on that point, and agreed, "*per curiam totam*"—that the indorser of a bond is ultimately liable, but the indorsee must first sue the original obligor, and he must prove insolvent before the indorser is liable.

Statement of a cause decided at Guildhall, London, May 7, 1788.

THE sole question to be tried was, whether the plaintiffs, who are wholesale grocers and tea-dealers in the city, with whom the defendant had dealt for several years, were entitled to interest on the amount of the goods sold, computed upon the end of three months after the sales, (being the usual credit in the plaintiffs' trade) which was decided in favour of the plaintiffs, who consequently obtained a verdict for the interest and costs.

To the farmers of America.

AS the present year is one of the most abundant in apples ever re-

membered in this country, I flatter myself that the following account of the method of making cyder in the counties of Gloucester and Hereford, in England, will not be unacceptable to you. It is taken from the verbal information of a gentleman from one of those counties, and founded on his own practical observation and experience.

The apples, when ripe, are gathered and thrown into a large heap, where they lie as long as the season will permit, being covered, to prevent any injury from the frost. The later the cyder is made, the better, as the juices are more perfectly ripened, and there is less danger to apprehend from fermentation. Great care is taken to separate the fruit anywise rotten from the rest. The apples are ground very close, so that the seeds are all broken; this gives the juice an agreeable bitter—the pumice is then pressed through hair bags, and the juice strained through two sieves, the uppermost of hair, the lowermost of muslin. After this the cyder is put into casks, when great attention is necessary to discover the exact time in which the pumice, still remaining in the juice, rises on the top, which happens from the third to the tenth day, according to the greater or less heat of the weather. This body does not remain on the top more than two hours, consequently care should be taken to draw off the cyder before it sinks; this may be done by means of a plug, observing not to attempt to skim off the pumice, as it is thereby precipitated to the bottom. When drawn off, the cyder is put into casks. Particular attention is again required to prevent the fermentation, when the least inclination towards it is discovered; this may be done, by means of a small quantity of cyder spirits, to be regulated by the state of the cyder, but not to exceed one gallon per 112 gallons of cyder. In the month of March, the cyder is again drawn off, when all risk of fermentation ceases. It is then put into good casks, and in three years from that time, is thought fit for bottling. Old wine casks are preferred; those which have contained rum, are always avoided.

A friend to agriculture.

Philadelphia, September 7.

A British prophecy!!!

NORTH-AMERICA, broken off from the British empire, in other words, become independent, begins to be a kind of vacuum in the system of politics; a remote region unattended to by the European powers. And if Great Britain will but punish those revolted colonies with a total disregard, and perfect indifference, they will soon grow as light as chaff in the great scale of power and consequence among nations. Already they find a necessity of adopting the Turkish mode of negotiating peace with their inland neighbours, by sending ambassadors of peace guarded with an armed force!—This may do for the Turkish empire, great and potent as it is; but for congress, a government without substantial power, without money, and without property, it will never do long! A slippery false peace it will be, kept by the Indians only while the peace makers and their warlike retinue are in sight or within call. Even now the new states, boasted to be in future the greatest empire in the world, begin, like wolves, to worry and devour one another, for want of a superintending governing power, to hold an equal regulating hand over them all: and most grievously will they lament the loss of their dependence on Great Britain.

—Europ. Mag. Nov. 1784—p. 339.

*Origin of the island of Nantucket.**An Indian tradition.*

ON the west end of Martha's Vineyard, are high cliffs of variegated coloured earths, known by the name of Gayhead. On the top of the hill is a large cavity, which has the appearance of the crater of an extinguished volcano, and there are evident marks of former subterraneous fires. The Indians, who live about this spot, have a tradition, that a certain deity relished there before the Europeans came into America; that his name was Manshop; that he used to sleep out on a ledge of rocks, which ran into the sea, and take up a whale, which

he broiled for his own eating on the coals of the afore said volcano, and often invited the Indians to dine with him, or gave them the relics of his meal. That once to shew their gratitude to Manshop for his very great kindness to them, they made an offering to him of all the tobacco which grew upon the island for one season. This was scarcely sufficient to fill his great pipe, but he received the present very graciously, smoked his pipe and turned out the ashes of it into the sea, which formed the island of Nantucket. Upon the coming of the Europeans into America, Manshop retired in disgust, and has never since been seen.

Anecdote.

OF all the vices incident to the aboriginals of this country, that of lying is not the least. Some years since, one Tom Hyde, an Indian famous for his cunning, came into a tavern at Brookfield, and after a little talk, told the landlord he had been hunting, and had killed a fine fat deer, and that if he would give him a quart of rum, he would tell him where it was. The landlord did not wish to let slip so good an opportunity to obtain his venison, and immediately measured the Indian his rum—Well, says Tom, do you know where the great meadow is?—Yes—Well, do you know the great marked maple tree, that stands in it? Yes. Well there lies the deer. Away posted the taverner, with his team, in quest of his purchase—he found the meadow and the tree, it is true; but his searchings after the deer were in vain, and he returned no heavier, but in chagrin, than he went. Some days after he meets the Indian, and violently accuses him of the deception—Tom heard him out—and, with the coolness of a philosopher, replied—Did you not find the meadow, as I said? Yes—and the trees? Yes—and the deer? No. Very good, continues he: you found two truths to one lie, which was very well for an Indian.

Exports from Charleston, S. C. of the crops of the years 1784 and 1785.

	crop of 1784.	crop of 1785.
Barrels of rice,	60,442	61,879
Half barrels of ditto,	6,342	7,937
Hogheads of tobacco,	2,303	3,999
Casks of indigo,	1,789	2,163
Hogheads of deer skins,	340	383
Bales of ditto,	290	404
Barrels of pitch,	3,719	3,789
Barrels of tar,	6,737	8,056
Barrels of turpentine,	6,543	6,602
M. feet of lumber,	1,072	1,752
M. shingles,	3,097	3,104
M. slaves,	403	836
Bushels of corn,	19,510	6,385
Firkins of butter,	353	394
Lbs. of pink, snake, and ginseng root,	4	9
Barrels of ditto,	44	41
Tons of salafra,	-	20
Hogheads of sarsaparilla,	-	11
Bundles of ditto,	-	50
Green hides,	239	} 2897
Dried ditto,	59	
Sides of leather,	1,968	2,517
Tons of bees wax,	3	-
Hogheads of ditto,	-	8
Barrels of ditto,	-	16
Barrels of beef and pork,	-	738

Enumeration of the vessels wherein was exported the crop of South Carolina of the year 1784.

Ships,	86
Snows,	8
Brigs,	154
Sloops,	234
Schooners,	295
Cutter,	1

Total, 778 vessels, burden 47,320 tons.

The crops of 1785 and 1786 were exported in the following vessels.

	1785.		1786.	
	vessels.	tons.	vessels.	tons.
American,	366	34,418	735	41,431
British,	168	16,858	148	16,787
Spanish,	27	1,251	44	1,073
Danish,	3	1,037	1	164
French,	13	1,110	8	715
Bremen,	3	524	1	193
Irish,	4	305	2	319
Dutch,	4	539	3	799
Austrian,	1	127	1	157
Altona,	1	130	1	280
Hamburgh,	-	-	1	130
Total,	800	56,305	917	65,118

Exports of Georgia, of the crops of 1755, 1760, 1765, 1770, and 1772.

	1755.	1760.	1765.	1770	1772
Barrels of rice, *	2,299	3,283	12,224	22,129	23,540
Pounds of indigo,	4,508	11,746	16,019	22,336	11,882
Lbs. deer skins,	49,995	65,765	200,695	284,840	213,475
Lbs. beaver skins,	120	2,298	1,800	1,469	622
Lbs. raw silk,	438	558	711	290	485
Lbs. tanned leather	3,250	34,725	34,575	44,539	52,126
M. Feet of timber,	387	283	1,879	1,806	2,163
Lbs. of tobacco,				13,447	176,732
M. slaves,	203	80	661	466	988
M. shingles,	240	581	3,722	2,897	3,525
Oars & handspikes		1,112	528	96	
Lbs. of hemp,				1,860	259
Bbls. turpentine,				103	49
Barrels of pitch,				80	364
Barrels of tar,	45	425	426	105	298
Barrels of pork,	20	8	394	521	628
Barrels of beef,	40	14	141	639	555
Hogs and shoats,	76		1,360	605	574
Bushels of corn,	600		7,805	13,598	11,444
Lbs. of flour,					1,000
Bushels rough rice,	237	208	3,113	7,064	2,627
Bushels of pease,	400		300	601	140
Lbs. sago powder,				18,405	14,435
Gals. orange juice,				605	284
Lbs. of tallow,			100	1,079	
Lbs. of bees and } myrtle wax, }	960	3,910	2,170	4,038	1,951
Horses,	48		209	345	257
Mules,				30	10
Steers and cows,	16		69	25	136

Value, in sterling money, of the exports of Georgia, for eighteen years.

	£.		£.		£.
1755,	15,744	1761,	15,870	1767,	67,092
1756,	16,776	1762,	27,021	1768,	92,284
1757,	15,649	1763,	47,551	1769,	86,480
1758,	8,613	1764,	55,025	1770,	99,383
1759,	12,694	1765,	73,426	1771,	106,387
1760,	20,852	1766,	81,228	1772,	121,677

Statement of the number of vessels cleared out of Georgia, from 1755 to 1772.

	Square rigged	Sloops	tons.		Square rigged	Sloops	tons.
1755,	9	43	1,899	1764,	36	79	5,586
1756,	7	35	1,799	1765,	54	94	7,685
1757,	11	33	1,559	1766,	68	86	9,947
1758,	4	17	665	1767,	62	92	8,465
1759,	13	35	1,981	1768,	77	109	10,406
1760,	7	30	1,457	1769,	87	94	9,276
1761,	9	36	1,604	1770,	73	113	10,514
1762,	22	35	2,784	1771,	64	121	9,553
1763,	34	58	4,761	1772,	84	133	11,216

Exports from New York, between July 5, 1765, and July 5, 1766.

			£.	s.	d.
772	Bushels of grain,	109,666	at 5s. 3d.	28,787	6 6
3,540	Barrels of flour,	70,644	at 15s. per cwt.	119,211	15 0
1,882	Barrels of bread,	17,660	at 15s. per cwt.	16,546	0 0
3,475	Barrels of beef and pork,	2,941	at 70s.	10,293	10 0
632	Hogheads of flaxseed,	11,037	at 70s.	38,629	10 0
485	Firkins of butter,	1,198	at 40s.	2,396	0 0
2,126	Kegs of lard,	617	at 20s.	617	0 0
2,163	Cates, bundles, &c. furs & skins,	172	at 30l.	5,160	0 0
6,732	Tons of pot and pearl ash,	102	at 25l.	2,250	0 0
988	Tons of bar iron,	532	at 26l.	13,832	0 0
3,525	Tons of pig iron,	500	at 7l. 10s.	3,750	0 0
259	Tons of copper ore,	80	at 100l.	8,000	0 0
40	Casks of cheese,	80	at 9l. 10s.	760	0 0
364	Boxes of soap and candles,	2,398	at 25s.	2,997	10 0
298					
628					

£. 243,230 11 6

Besides the above articles, there were exported, during the same period, 5,187 cwt. of naval stores; 281lbs. of indigo; 27,786 cwt. of fustic, Nicaragua, and logwood; 3,730 casks of fish; 116 casks of rice; cordage and new vessels; provisions for ships; lumber of different kinds, &c.

*Exports from America to the British West India islands, in 1771, 1772, 1773.*

954	M. feet of lumber,	1771 21,271	1772 27,138	1773 28,591
257	M. shingles,	16,483	26,936	23,351
10	M. slaves,	15,546	21,160	21,319
136	Bushels of corn,	418,307	365,300	220,806
	Bushels of pease,	20,140	20,304	26,779
	Barrels of bread and flour,	140,198	131,342	138,506
cars,	Bushels of oats,	9,680	6,136	7,407
£.	Barrels of oil,	1,342	960	1,507
67,002	Barrels of tar,	4,864	7,760	4,407
92,284	Horses,	2,170	2,220	2,798
86,480	Shaken hhds. and water casks,	16,264	17,211	20,563
99,383	Barrels of rice,	24,780	13,133	23,567
96,387	Barrels of beef and pork,	13,511	12,575	18,890
21,677	Hhds. of fish,	16,144	21,185	16,771
	Barrels of do.	15,143	17,740	15,780
	Quintals of do.	9,240	10,940	16,023

*Exports from Philadelphia in the years 1765, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1784, 1787.*

1772.

Exports from Philadelphia in the years 1765, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1784, 1787.

tons,

	1765	1771	1772	1773	1784	1787	
5,586	Bushels of wheat,	367,522	51,699	92,012	182,391	24,400	32,957
7,685	Barrels of flour,	148,887	252,744	284,872	265,967	201,365	193,720
9,947	Barrels of bread,	34,736	38,320	50,504	48,185	28,525	26,953
8,465	M. slaves and heading,	4,270	6,188	5,867	5,141	4,082	4,333
6,406	M. shingles,	2,114	1,937	1,765	5,254		
9,276	Bushels of Indian corn,	60,206	259,441	159,625	179,217	73,527	193,943
0,514	Tons of iron,	1,695	2,358	2,205	1,564	1,144	1,197
9,553	Boxes of soap,	1,644	2,936	3,231	3,742	1,733	1,544
1,216	M. hoops,	97	195	978	1,245		319

	1765	1771	1772	1773	1784	1787
Hhds of tobacco,	16					1787
M. boards and scantling,	783	1,724	4,075	3,309	3,098	4,808
Barrels of beer,	1,288	1,236	1,798	1,394		2,611
Kegs of starch,	238	349	1,033	700		60
Bushels of flaxseed,	87,681	110,412	85,794	68,681	71,592	98,000
Packages of fur and skins,	64					30
Pounds of do.		902	1,200	40		
Barrels of bees wax,	35					
hogheads of ditto,						
Pounds of ditto,		29,261	50,140	64,546	46,585	1,300
Firkins of lard,	199	399	734	732	507	2,530
Firkins of butter,	1,501					
Barrels of beef and pork,	7,254	5,059	3,849	8,587	2,354	4,160
Barrels of hams,		778	782	1,062		1,060
Barrels of naval stores,		6,050	6,989	7,663		13,170
Walnut logs,		63	204	79		
Tons of lignumvitæ,		24	42	30		
Feet of mahogany,		108,441	142,962	63,255		
Tons of logwood,		169	425	195		
Chests of deer skins,		98	164	37		
Tons of pot ash,		161	66	13	6	5
Tons of pearl ash,		136	25	57		3
Cwt. brown sugar,		1,185	5,198	2,578		
Pounds of loaf sugar,		79,116	51,408	84,240		9,800
Gallons of molasses,		52,611	19,681	39,403		
Tons of wine,		24	118	68		
Gallons of oil,		5,544	10,584	4,536		1500
Gallons of rum,		204,456	247,635	277,693		
Barrels of fish,		5,128	5,776	6,430		
Boxes spermaceti candles,		683	1,004	514		
Boxes of tallow candles,	1,202	872	1,078	1,165	1,288	702
Boxes of chocolate,		479	385	306		629
Cwt. of coffee,		501	296	1,639		
Bushels of salt,		64,468	42,803	39,192		
Pounds of cotton wool,		2,200	5,840	25,070		
Pounds of leather,		25,970	40,725	31,696	7,080	
Packages of ditto,						377
Sides of ditto,						970
Pounds of rice,		258,376	834,974	998,400		2610825

In the year 1787, besides the above articles, the following were exported:

Barrels of ship stuff,	1,443	Pounds of cheese,	29,472
Barrels of rye meal,	162	Barrels of herrings,	610
Casks of oatmeal,	23	Barrels of mackrels,	174
Kegs of bread,	25,152	Quintals dry fish,	4,718
Barrels of Indian meal,	14,710	Kegs of sturgeon,	363
Bushels of rye,	1,140	Barrels of salmon,	17
Bushels of barley,	306	Barrels of manhadden,	236
Bushels of oats,	7,421	Barrels of honey,	91
Barrels of pease and beans,	919	Kegs of oysters,	48
Barrels of apples,	2,555	Packages of cyder,	225
Barrels of dried apples,	24	Barrels of porter,	262
Bushels of potatoes,	8,656	Hogheads of country rum,	1,266
Bushels of turneps,	195	Oxen,	4
Bushels of onions,	4,373	Cows,	4
Barrels of beets,	12	Sheep,	145
Barrels of nuts,	185	Hogs,	34
Barrels of cranberries,	33	Geese,	6

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1,767	Boat boards,	740	Tons of steel,	62
4,807	Windsor chairs,	5,731	Tons of castings,	16
2,606	Shaken hogheads,	4,775	Stoves,	66
60	Sets of wheel timbers,	1,056	Anchors,	37
98,000	Pairs of wheels,	84	Stills and worms,	48
20	Oars,	1,400	Bricks,	423,469
10	Handspikes,	396	Bushels of lime,	468
17	Masts and spars,	355	Barrels of glue,	15
1,34	Coaches,	8	Barrels of manufactured tobacco,	78
2,53	Chariots,	4	Casks of snuff,	535
4,16	Phaetons,	9	Casks of ginseng,	1,168
1,06	Carriages of different kinds,	36	Bags of sarsaparilla,	8
13,17	Chaises,	40	Casks of indigo,	173
	Kittareens,	10	Tierces of tallow,	24
	Sulkeys,	7	Casks of linseed oil,	62
	Wagons,	40	Casks of spirits of turpentine,	110
	Wheelbarrows,	96	Boxes of hair powder,	118
	Drays,	4	Barrels of do.	16
	Ploughs,	22	Bushels of bran,	10,306
	Harrow,	1	Packages of paper,	353
	Turkeys,	48	Reams of do.	2,481
	Boxes of mustard,	42	Packages of pasteboards,	62
	Barrels of ship bread,	26,953	Box of parchment,	1
	Pumps,	4	Barrels of varnish,	5
9,800	Boats,	15	Boxes of trees and plants,	20
	Flaxseed screens,	14	Packages of seeds and plants,	47
	Cutting boxes,	14	Pounds of saffrafas,	2,000
1500	Carts,	26	Chests and casks of snake root,	34
	Spinning wheels,	30	Casks of pink root,	3
	Corn mills,	4	Boxes of essence of spruce,	250
	Settees,	38	Bags of hops,	30
702	Dutch fans,	55	Casks of clover seed,	11
629	Casks of ship blocks,	9	Bags of do.	7
	Tons of oak bark,	45	Packages of harness,	10
	Hogheads of ditto,	48	Calves' skins,	72
	Sifters,	286	Casks of horn tips,	15
	Logs of hickory,	13	Sheets of iron,	16
377	Saddle trees,	247	Share moulds,	1233
970	Tons of nail rods,	133	A quantity of cedar and earthen ware.	

Remarks on the commerce of Philadelphia.

AS the principal object, in publishing the preceding table, is to enable the reader to form a more accurate idea of the present state of the commerce and agriculture of Pennsylvania, by a comparison with their situation at former periods, the gentleman, who favoured the printer with the list of exports for the year 1787, has added the following observations on this subject, which, it is presumed, will not be thought either unnecessary or impertinent :

IT is well known, that a considerable part of the southern states have been in the habit of receiving their supplies of foreign commodities thro' this city ; and that, of consequence,

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the transportation of these articles must have formed a considerable part of the commerce of this port. Many of these articles might be ascertained with accuracy ; whilst the value and quantity of others could not, from their nature, be estimated, under our present export laws. But as the object here chiefly regards articles of American produce or manufacture, all others are excluded from the list of exports for 1787. It will be sufficient to enumerate a few of the foreign articles, from which it will appear, that the observations on this head are not ill founded. From Europe we import, among other articles, wines, brandy, geneva, salt, fruit, drugs, and dry goods of every kind ; from the West Indies, rum, sugar,

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coffee, cotton, and salt; and from the East Indies, teas, spices, china ware, and dry goods; all of which articles are again exported to other ports of this continent, and the West Indies, to a very considerable amount.

On a comparison of the exports of the last year, with those of the former years in the foregoing table, it will appear, that many articles, of which a considerable value is now exported, were either not shipped at all, or to a very small amount, in those years, whilst some others are considerably short of the quantity then exported. The first of these facts may be attributed to the great improvements recently made in the agriculture and manufactures of this state, whilst the latter is in many instances to be accounted for from causes rather beneficial than injurious to the prosperity of this country.

Much of the provisions which were in the period antecedent to the late contest, shipped to foreign markets, is now consumed by the numerous hands employed in manufacturing those articles of raw materials, which were formerly shipped to Europe, and returned to us in a manufactured state. Of these may be mentioned iron, leather, barley, tobacco, and furs, which we now manufacture into nails and steel, shoes, boots, and saddlery, porter and beer, snuff and hats, in quantities more than sufficient for our own consumption: a considerable quantity of these and other articles, formerly imported, are now manufactured by our own citizens,

and form a respectable part of our exports: among these may be enumerated, as the most important, beef, pork, butter, cheese, mustard, loaf sugar, chocolate, household furniture, carriages, soap, candles, hair powder, starch, paper, and pasteboard. Upon an examination of the exports, many valuable articles will be found not enumerated: this arises from the same cause, which prevents ascertaining the amount of dry goods: namely the impossibility of knowing either the value or contents of packages, which pay no duty or inspection; consequently are only entered in a general way, without any attention to their contents. Of goods under the last description, the exportation is very great; being articles particularly demanded by the southern states, several of which receive their principal supplies of these articles from this city; among them, the chief are, shoes, boots, hats, gloves, printed books and other stationary, saddlery, copper, tin, and brass wares, and ship chandlery.

From the importance of insuring a more accurate knowledge of the exports, as well as imports, of the country, to the government, it might not be amiss to oblige a more strict attention to the entry of outward cargoes. Whether a duty equal to the inspection on flour, of one penny per package, would answer the end in view, is a matter submitted to the consideration of those who are more competent to decide on this question.

Philadelphia, September 30, 1788.

Number of vessels entered at the custom-house, Philadelphia, in the years 1786 and 1787.

	1786.	1787.
Ships,	91	81
Brigs,	196	228
Sloopes,	450	380
Schooners,	163	173
Snows,	10	6
Cutters,		2
Total,	910	870

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Number of vessels entered at the custom-house, Boston.

In 1749,	—	—	—	—	489
In 1773,	—	—	—	—	517
During six months of the year 1784,	—	—	—	—	372

*Statement of the number of taxable inhabitants in Pennsylvania, in the years 1760, 1770, 1779, and 1786.**

	1760	1770	1779	1786
Philadelphia city } and county, }	8,321	10,455	{ 3,681 7,066	4,876 4,516
Bucks county,	3,148	3,177	4,067	4,273
Chester,	4,761	5,483	6,378	6,286
Lancaster,	5,631	6,608	8,433	5,839
York,	3,302	4,426	6,281	6,254
Cumberland,	1,501	3,521	5,092	3,939
Berks,	3,016	3,302	4,662	4,732
Northampton,	1,987	2,793	3,600	3,967
Bedford,	-	-	1,201	2,632
Northumberland,	-	-	2,111	2,166
Westmoreland,	-	-	2,111	2,653
Washington,	-	-	-	3,908
Fayette,	-	-	-	2,041
Franklin,	-	-	-	2,237
Montgomery,	-	-	-	3,725
Dauphin,	-	-	-	2,881
Luzerne,	-	-	-	+
Total,	31,667	39,765	54,683	66,925

Number of inhabitants in New York, in the years 1756, 1771, and 1786.

WHITES.

	1756,	1776	1786
Males under 16,	20,660		54,807
Do. between 16 & 60,	19,825		52,927
Do. 60 and upwards,	2,767		4,731
Total males,	43,252		112,465
Females under 16,	18,984		51,766
Do. above 16,	20,997		55,765
Total females,	39,981		107,531
Total whites,	83,233	148,124	219,996

SLAVES.

Males,	7,564		9,521
Females,	5,978		9,368
Total slaves,	13,542	19,883	18,889
INDIANS, paying taxes,			12

* So often have the counties of this state been divided and subdivided—and the boundaries altered, that a comparison in this statement can hardly be made, except between the several totals: as, for instance, it would appear from the above table that Philadelphia county had decreased in population between the years 1779 and 1786—whereas the contrary is the case—for Montgomery county was struck off from it. The same is observable of all the counties wherein a decrease appears.—C.

+ No return.

Besides the remarkable increase in population of the whites manifest by the foregoing statement, the reader will attend to the greater proportionable increase of the free beyond the enslaved. In 1756, the negroes were nearly as one to six of the whites, and in 1771, not quite as one to seven; but in 1786, the proportion varies much. The slaves to the free people are only as one to eleven. This extraordinary disparity of increase, during the second period, can only be accounted for from the opportunity which was afforded to the slaves of the city of New York, Long, and Staten Islands, and the adjoining continent, to escape from their masters, during the possession, or influence of the British troops, over the southern counties of the state.



Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania, to the inhabitants of the British colonies. By John Dickinson, Esq.

LETTER I.

My dear countrymen,

I AM a farmer, settled, after a variety of fortunes, near the banks of the river Delaware, in the province of Pennsylvania. I received a liberal education, and have been engaged in the busy scenes of life; but am now convinced, that a man may be as happy without bustle, as with it. My farm is small; my servants are few, and good; I have a little money at interest; I wish for no more; my employment in my own affairs is easy; and with a contented grateful mind, undisturbed by wordly hopes or fears, relating to myself, I am completing the number of days allotted to me by divine goodness.

Being generally master of my time, I spend a good deal of it in a library, which I think the most valuable part of my small estate; and being acquainted with two or three gentlemen of abilities and learning, who honour me with their friendship, I have acquired, I believe, a greater knowledge in history, and the laws and constitution of my country, than is generally attained by men of my class, many of them not being so fortunate as I have been in the opportunities of getting information.

From my infancy I was taught to love humanity and liberty. Enquiry and experience have since confirmed my reverence for the lessons then given me, by convincing me more fully of their truth and excellence. Benevolence towards mankind, excites wishes for their welfare, and such wishes endear the means of fulfilling them. These can be found in liberty only, and therefore her sacred cause ought to be espoused by every man, on every occasion, to the utmost of his power. As a charitable, but poor person does not withhold his mite, because he cannot relieve all the distresses of the miserable, so should not any honest man suppress his sentiments concerning freedom, however small their influence is likely to be. Perhaps he "may touch some wheel," that will have an effect greater than he could reasonably expect.

These being my sentiments, I am encouraged to offer to you, my countrymen, my thoughts on some late transactions, that appear to me of the utmost importance to you. Conscious of my own defects, I have waited some time, in expectation of seeing the subject treated by persons much better qualified for the task; but being therein disappointed, and apprehensive that longer delays will be injurious, I venture at length to request the attention of the public, praying, that these lines may be read with the same zeal for the happiness of British America with which they were wrote.

With a good deal of surprise I have observed, that little notice has been taken of an act of parliament, as injurious in its principle to the liberties of these colonies, as the stamp-act was: I mean the act for suspending the legislation of New York.

The assembly of that government complied with a former act of parliament, requiring certain provisions to be made for the troops in America, in every particular, I think, except the articles of salt, pepper and vinegar. In my opinion they acted imprudently, considering all circumstances, in not complying so far as would have given satisfaction, as several colonies did; but my dislike of their conduct in that instance, has not blinded me

NOTE.

• 7 Geo. 3. ch. 39.

so much, that I cannot plainly perceive, that they have been punished in a manner pernicious to American freedom, and justly alarming to all the colonies.

If the British parliament has a legal authority to issue an order, that we shall furnish a single article for the troops here, and to compel obedience to that order, they have the same right to issue an order for us to supply those troops with arms, clothes, and every necessary; and to compel obedience to that order also; in short, to lay any burdens they please upon us. What is this but taxing us at a certain sum, and leaving to us only the manner of raising it? How is this mode more tolerable than the stamp-act? Would that act have appeared more pleasing to Americans, if, being ordered thereby to raise the sum total of the taxes, the mighty privilege had been left to them, of saying how much should be paid for an instrument of writing on paper, and how much for another on parchment?

An act of parliament, commanding us to do a certain thing, if it has any validity, is a tax upon us for the expense that accrues in complying with it; and for this reason, I believe, every colony on the continent, that chose to give a mark of their respect for Great Britain, in complying with the act relating to the troops, cautiously avoided the mention of that act, lest their conduct should be attributed to us supposed obligation.

The matter being thus stated, the assembly of New York either had, or had not, a right to refuse submission to that act. If they had, and I imagine no American will say they had not, then the parliament had no right to compel them to execute it. If they had not this right, they had no right to punish them for not executing it; and therefore no right to suspend their legislation, which is a punishment. In fact, if the people of New York cannot be legally taxed but by their own representatives, they cannot be legally deprived of the privilege of legislation, only for insisting on that exclusive privilege of taxation. If they may be legally deprived in such a case, of the privilege of legislation, why may they not, with equal reason, be deprived of every other privilege?

Or why may not every colony be treated in the same manner, when any of them shall dare to deny their assent to any impositions, that shall be directed? Or what signifies the repeal of the stamp-act, if these colonies are to lose their other privileges, by not tamely surrendering that of taxation?

There is one consideration, arising from this suspension, which is not generally attended to, but shews its importance very clearly. It was not necessary that this suspension should be caused by an act of parliament. The crown might have restrained the governor of New York, even from calling the assembly together, by its prerogative in the royal governments. This step, I suppose, would have been taken, if the conduct of the assembly of New York had been regarded as an act of disobedience to the crown alone: but it is regarded as an act of "disobedience to the authority of the British legislature*." This gives the suspension a consequence vastly more affecting. It is a parliamentary assertion of the supreme authority of the British legislature over these colonies, in the point of taxation; and is intended to compel New York into a submission to that authority. It seems, therefore, to me, as much a violation of the liberties of the people of that province, and consequently of all these colonies, as if the parliament had sent a number of regiments to be quartered upon them, till they should comply. For it is evident, that the suspension is meant as a compulsion; and the method of compelling is wholly indifferent. It is, indeed, probable, that the sight of red coats, and the sound of drums would have been most alarming; because people are generally more influenced by their eyes and ears than by their reason. But whoever seriously considers the matter, must perceive that a dreadful stroke is aimed at the liberty of these colonies. I say, of these colonies; for the cause of one is the cause of all. If the parliament may lawfully deprive New York of any of her rights, it may deprive any or all the other colonies of their rights;

NOTE.

* See the act of suspension.

and nothing can possibly so much encourage such attempts, as a mutual inattention to the interests of each other. To divide, and thus to destroy, is the first political maxim in attacking those, who are powerful by their union. He certainly is not a wise man, who folds his arms, and reposes himself at home, viewing, with unconcern, the flames that have invaded his neighbour's house, without using any endeavours to extinguish them. When Mr. Hampden's ship-money cause, for twenty shillings, was tried, all the people of England, with anxious expectation, interested themselves in the important decision: and when the slightest point, respecting the freedom of one colony, is agitated, I earnestly wish, that all the rest may, with equal ardour, support their sister. Very much may be said on this subject: but I hope more at present is unnecessary.

With concern I have observed, that two assemblies of this province have sat, and adjourned, without taking any notice of this act. It may, perhaps, be asked, what would have been proper for them to do? I am by no means fond of inflammatory measures. I detest them. I should be sorry that any thing should be done, which might justly displease our sovereign, or our mother country. But a firm, modest exertion of a free spirit, should never be wanting on public occasions. It appears to me, that it would have been sufficient for the assembly, to have ordered our agents to represent to the king's ministers, their sense of the suspending act, and to pray for its repeal. Thus we should have borne our testimony against it; and might therefore reasonably expect, that, on a like occasion, we might receive the same assistance from the other colonies.

Concordia res parvae crescunt.

Small things grow great by concord.

A FARMER.

November 3, 1767.

(To be continued.)

The American crisis. No. 11.

(Continued from Vol. III. page 481.)

"What's in the name of lord that I should fear,

"To bring my grievance to the public ear?"

Churchill.

TO LORD HOWE.

UNIVERSAL empire is the prerogative of a writer. His concerns are with all mankind, and though he cannot command their obedience, he can assign them their duty. The republic of letters is more ancient than monarchy, and of far higher character in the world than the vassal court of Britain; he that rebels against reason is a real rebel, but he that in defence of reason, rebels against tyranny, has a better title to "defender of the faith" than George the third.

As a military man, your lordship may hold out the sword of war, and call it the "*ultima ratio regum*," the last reason of kings; we in return can shew you the sword of justice, and call it, "the best scourge of tyrants." The first of these two may threaten, or even frighten, for a while, and call a sickly languor over an insulted people, but reason will soon recover the debauch, and restore them again to tranquil fortitude. Your lordship, I find, has now commenced author, and published a proclamation; I too have published a crisis; as they stand, they are the antipodes of each other; both cannot rise at once, and one of them must descend: and so quick is the revolution of things, that your lordship's performance, I see, has already fallen many degrees from its first place, and is now just visible on the edge of the political horizon.

It is surprising to what a pitch of insatiation blind folly and obstinacy will carry mankind, and your lordship's drowsy proclamation is a proof that it does not even quit them in their sleep. Perhaps you thought America too was taking a nap, and therefore chose, like satan to Eve, to whisper the delusion softly, lest you should awaken her. This continent, sir, is too extensive to sleep all at once, and too watchful, even in its slumbers, not to startle, at the unhalloved foot of an invader. You may issue your proclamations, and welcome, for we have learned to "reve-

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rence ourselves," and scorn the insulting ruffian that employs you. America for your deceased brother's sake would gladly have shewn you respect, and it is a new aggravation to her feelings, that Howe should be forgetful, and raise his sword against those, who at their own charge raised a monument to his brother. But your master has commanded, and you have not enough of nature left to refuse. Surely there must be something strangely degenerating in the love of monarchy, that can so completely wear a man down to an ingrate, and make him proud to lick the dust that kings have trod upon. A few more years, should you survive them, will bestow on you the title of an old man, and in some hour of future reflection you may probably find the fitness of Wolfey's despairing penitence, "had I served my God as faithfully as I have served my king, he would not thus have forsaken me in my old age."

The character you appear to us in is truly ridiculous. Your friends, the Tories, announced your coming with high descriptions of your unlimited powers; but your proclamation has given them the lie, by shewing you to be a commissioner without authority. Had your powers been ever so great, they were nothing to us, farther than we pleased; because we had the same right which other nations had, to do what we thought was best. "The united states of America," will found as pompously in the world or in history as "the kingdom of Great Britain;" the character of general Washington will fill a page with as much lustre as that of lord Howe; and the congress have as much right to command the king and parliament of London, to desist from legislation, as they or you have to command the congress. Only suppose how laughable such an edict would appear from us, and then, in that merry mood, do but turn the tables upon yourself, and you will see how your proclamation is received here. Having thus placed you in a proper position in which you may have a full view of folly, and learn to despise it, I hold up to you, for that purpose, the following quotation from your own lunarian proclamation, "And we (lord Howe and general

Howe) "do command, (and in his majesty's name forsooth) "all such persons as are assembled together under the name of general or provincial congresses, committees, conventions, or other associations, by whatever name or names known or distinguished, to desist and cease from all such treasonable actings and doings."

You introduce your proclamation by referring to your declarations of the 14th July and 19th of September. In the last of these, you sunk yourself below the character of a private gentleman. That I may not seem to accuse you unjustly, I shall state the circumstance: by a verbal invitation of yours communicated to congress by general Sullivan, then a prisoner on his parole, you signified your desire of conferring with some members of that body as private gentlemen. It was beneath the dignity of the American congress to pay any regard to a message that at best was but a genteel affront, and had too much of the ministerial complexion of tampering with private persons; and which might probably have been the case, had the gentlemen who were deputed on that business, possessed that easy kind of virtue which an English courtier is so truly distinguished by. Your request, however, was complied with, for honest men are naturally more tender of their civil than their political fame. The interview ended as every sensible man thought it would; for your lordship knows, as well as the writer of the crisis, that it is impossible for the king of England to promise the repeal, or even the revival, of any acts of parliament; wherefore, on your part you had nothing to say, more than to request, in the room of demanding, the entire surrender of the continent; and then, if that was complied with, to promise that the inhabitants should escape with their lives. This was the upshot of the conference. You informed the conferees that you were two months in soliciting these powers. We ask, what powers? for, as commissioner, you have none. If you mean the power of pardoning, it is an oblique proof, that your master was determined to sacrifice all before him; and that you were two months in

dissuading him from his purpose. Another evidence of his savage obstinacy ! From your own account of the matter, we may justly draw these two conclusions : first, that you serve a monster : and secondly, that never was a commissioner sent on a more foolish errand than yourself. This plain language may perhaps sound uncouthly to an ear vitiated by courtly refinements : but words were made for use, and the fault lies in deserving them, or the abuse in applying them unfairly.

Soon after your return to New-York, you published a very illiberal and unmanly handbill against the congress ; for it was certainly stepping out of the line of common civility, first to screen your national pride by soliciting an interview with them as private gentlemen, and in the conclusion to endeavour to deceive the multitude by making an hand bill attack on the whole body of the congress ; you got them together under one name, and abused them under another. But the king you serve, and the cause you support, afford you too few instances of abusing the gentleman, that out of pity to your situation, the congress pardoned the insult by taking no notice of it.

You say in that hand bill, " that they, the congress, disavowed every purpose for reconciliation not consonant with their extravagant and inadmissible claim of independence." Why, God bless me ! what have you to do with our independence ? we asked no leave of yours to set it up ; we ask no money of yours to support it ; we can do better without your fleets and armies than with them ; you may soon have enough to do to protect yourselves without being burdened with us. We are very willing to be at peace with you, to buy of you and sell to you, and, like young beginners in the world, to work for our own living ; therefore, why do you put yourselves out of cash, when we know you cannot spare it, and we do not desire you to run into debt ? I am willing, sir, you should see your folly in every view I can place it, and for that reason descend sometimes to tell you in jest what I wish you to see in earnest. But to be more serious with you, why do you say " their " independence ?

To set you right, sir, we tell you, that the independency is ours, not theirs. The congress were authorised, by every state on the continent to publish it to all the world, and in so doing are not to be considered as the inventors, but only as the heralds that proclaimed it, or the office from which the sense of the people received a legal form ; and it was as much as any or all their heads were worth to have treated with you, on the subject of submission, under any name whatever. But we know the men in whom we have trusted ; can England say the same of her parliament ?

I come now more particularly to your proclamation of the 30th of Nov. last. Had you gained an entire conquest over all the armies of America, and then put forth a proclamation, offering (what you call) mercy, your conduct would have had some specious show of humanity ; but to creep by surprise into a province, and there endeavour to terrify and seduce the inhabitants from their just allegiance to the rest, by promises which you neither meant nor were able to fulfil, is both cruel and unmanly : cruel in its effects ; because unless you can keep all the ground you have marched over, how are you, in the words of your proclamation, to secure to your subjects " the enjoyment of their property ? " What are to become either of your new-adopted subjects, or your old friends the tories, in Burlington, Bordentown, Trenton, Montholly, and many other places, where you proudly lorded it for a few days, and then fled with the precipitation of a pursued thief ? What, I say, are to become of those wretches ? What are to become of those who went over to you from this city and state ? What more can you say to them than " shift for yourselves ? " Or what more can they hope for than to wander like vagabonds over the face of the earth ? You may now tell them to take their leave of America, and all that once was theirs. Recommend them, for consolation, to your master's court : there perhaps they may make a shift to live on the scraps of some dangling parasite, and chuse companions among thousands like themselves. A traitor is the foulest fiend on earth.

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In a political sense we ought to thank you for thus bequeathing estates to the continent; we shall soon, at this rate, be able to carry on a war without expence, and grow rich by the ill policy of lord Howe, and the generous defection of the tories. Had you set your foot into this city, you would have bestowed estates upon us which we never thought of, by bringing forth traitors we were unwilling to suspect. "But these men" you will say, "are his majesty's most faithful subjects;" let that honour then be all their fortune, and let his majesty take them to himself.

I am now thoroughly disgusted with them; they live in ungrateful ease, and bend their whole minds to mischief. It seems as if God had given them over to a spirit of infidelity, and that they are open to conviction in no other line but that of punishment. It is time to have done with tarring, feathering, carting, and taking securities for their future good behaviour. Every sensible man must feel a conscious shame at seeing a poor fellow hawked for a shew about the streets, when it is known, that he is only the tool of some principal villain, biassed into his offence by the force of false reasoning, or bribed thereto through sad necessity. We dishonour ourselves by attacking such trifling characters, while greater ones are suffered to escape. 'Tis our duty to find them out, and their proper punishment would be to exile them from the continent for ever. The circle of them is not so great as some imagine. The influence of a few has tainted many who are not naturally corrupt. A continual circulation of lies among those who are not much in the way of hearing them contradicted, will in time pass for truth: and the crime lies not in the believer, but the inventor. I am not for declaring war against every man that appears not so warm as myself. Difference of constitution, temper, habit of speaking, and many other things, will go a great way in fixing the outward character of a man, yet simple honesty may remain at bottom. Some men have naturally a military turn, and can brave hardships and the risk of life, with a cheerful face: others have not; no slavery appears to them

so great as the fatigue of arms, and no terror so powerful as that of personal danger. What can we say? We cannot alter nature; neither ought we to punish the son because the father begot him in a cowardly mood. However, I believe most men have more courage than they know of, and that a little at first is enough to begin with. I knew the time when I thought that the whistling of a cannon ball would have frightened me almost to death: but I have since tried it, and find I can stand it with as little discomposure, and (I believe) with a much easier conscience than your lordship. The same dread would return to me again, were I in your situation: for my solemn belief of your cause, is, that it is hellish and damnable: and under that conviction, every thinking man's heart must fail him.

From a concern, that a good cause should be dishonoured by the least disunion among us, I said in my former paper, No. I, that, "should the enemy now be expelled, I wish, with all the sincerity of a christian, that the names of whig and tory might never more be mentioned:" but there is a knot of men among us, of such a venomous cast, that they will not admit even one's good wishes to act in their favour. Instead of rejoicing that heaven had, as it were, providentially preserved this city from plunder and destruction, by delivering to great a part of the enemy into our hands, with so little effusion of blood, they stubbornly affected to disbelieve it, until within an hour, nay half an hour of the prisoners arriving: and the quakers put forth a testimony, dated the twentieth of December, signed John Pemberton, declaring their attachment to the British government. These men are continually harping on the great sin of our bearing arms: but the king of Britain may lay waste the world in blood and famine, and they, poor fallen souls, have nothing to say.

In some future paper, I intend to distinguish between the different kinds of persons who have been denominated tories: for this I am clear in, that all are not so, who have been called so, nor all men whigs, who were once thought so: and as I mean

not to conceal the name of any true friend, when there shall be occasion to mention him; neither will I that of an enemy, who ought to be known, let his rank, station, or religion be what it may.

Much pains have been taken by some to set your lordship's private character in an amiable light: but as it has chiefly been done by men who know nothing about you, and who are no ways remarkable for their attachment to us, we have no just authority for believing it. George the third was imposed upon us by the same arts: but time has at length done him justice: and the same fate may probably attend your lordship. Your avowed purpose here, is, to kill, conquer, plunder, pardon, and enslave: and the ravages of your army, through the Jerseys, have been marked with as much barbarism, as if you had openly professed yourself the prince of ruffians. Not even the appearance of humanity has been preserved either on the march or the retreat of your troops. No general order, that I could ever learn, has ever been issued to prevent or even forbid your troops from robbery, wherever they came: and the only instance of justice, if it can be called such, which has distinguished you for impartiality, is, that you treated and plundered all alike. What could not be carried away, have been destroyed: and mahogany furniture has been deliberately laid on the fire for fuel, rather than the men should be fatigued with cutting wood. There was a time, when the whigs confided much in your supposed candour, and the tories rested themselves on your favour. The experiments have now been made, and failed: and every town, nay every cottage, in the Jerseys, where your arms have been, is a testimony against you. How you may rest under this sacrifice of character, I know not: but this I know, that you sleep and rise with the daily curses of thousands upon you. Perhaps, the misery which the tories have suffered by your proffered mercy, may give them some claim to their country's pity, and be in the end the best favour you could shew them.

In a folio general order book belonging to colonel Rahl's battalion, taken at Trenton, and now in the

possession of the council of safety for this state, the following barbarous order is frequently repeated: "His excellency the commander in chief orders that all inhabitants which shall be found with arms, not having an officer with them, shall be immediately taken and hung up." How many you may thus have privately sacrificed, we know not; and the account can only be settled in another world. Your treatment of prisoners, in order to distress them to enlist into your infernal service, is not to be equalled by any instance in Europe. Yet this is the humane lord Howe, and his brother, whom the tories, and their three-quarter kindred, the quakers, or some of them at least, have been holding up for patterns of justice and mercy!

A bad cause will ever be supported by bad means, and bad men: and whoever will be at the pains of examining strictly into things, will find that one and the same spirit of oppression and impiety, more or less, governs through your whole party in both countries. Not many days ago, I accidentally fell in company with a person of this city, noted for espousing your cause; and on my remarking to him, that it appeared clear to me, by the late providential turn of affairs, that God Almighty was visibly on our side; he replied, we care nothing for that; you may have him, and welcome; if we have but enough of the devil on our side, we shall do. However carelessly this be spoken, matters not: 'tis still the insensible principle that directs all your conduct, and will at last most assuredly deceive and ruin you.

If ever a nation was mad and foolish, blind to its own interest, and bent on its own destruction, it is Britain. There are such things as national sins: and though the punishment of individuals may be reserved to another world, national punishment can only be inflicted in this world. Britain, as a nation, is, in my inmost belief, the greatest and most ungrateful offender against God, on the face of the whole earth. Blessed with all the commerce she could wish for, and furnished by a vast extent of dominion with the means of civilizing both the eastern and western world,

she has more than proportionally "thundered" whole continents. I know not whether war has been for producing India into wretchedness. Of late, national destructions, in the two "peoples" are serious foolishness, trafficking with people, count with other bodies sooner reckoning have suffered: dual persons of sorrow to her, I wish that it were. Perhaps for serious in England, therefore subject which me. By expectation could when nor in how a general and in your and the ruin your drafts to let may a one; double always cannot that vantage drawn goyned ship

she has made no other use of both, than proudly to idolize her own "thunder," and rip up the bowels of whole countries, for what she could get. Like Alexander, she has made war her sport, and inflicted misery for prodigality sake. The blood of India is not yet repaid, nor the wretchedness of Africa yet requited. Of late, she has enlarged her list of national cruelties, by her butcherly destruction of the Caribbs of St. Vincent's, and in returning an answer by the sword, to the meek prayer for "peace, liberty, and safety." These are serious things: and whatever a foolish tyrant, a debauched court, a trafficking legislature, or a blinded people, may think, the national account with heaven must some day or other be settled. All countries have sooner or later been called to their reckoning. The proudest empires have sunk, when the balance was struck: and Britain, like an individual penitent, must undergo her day of sorrow, and the sooner it happens to her, the better. As I wish it over, I wish it to come, but withal wish that it may be as light as possible.

Perhaps your lordship has no taste for serious things. By your connexions in England, I should suppose not: therefore I shall drop this part of the subject, and take it up in a line in which you will better understand me.

By what means, may I ask, do you expect to conquer America? If you could not effect it in the summer when our army was less than yours, nor in the winter, when we had none, how are you to do it? In point of generalship, you have been outwitted, and in point of fortitude, outdone: your advantages turn out to your loss, and shew us that it is in our power to ruin you by gifts. Like a game of drafs we can move out of one square, to let you come in, in order that we may afterwards take two or three for one; and as we can always keep a double corner for ourselves, we can always prevent a total defeat. You cannot be so insensible, as not to see that we have two to one the advantage of you, because we conquer by a drawn game, and you lose by it. Burgoyne might have taught your lordship this knowledge; he has been

long a student in the doctrine of chances.

I have no other idea of conquering countries than by subduing the armies which defend them: have you done this, or can you do this? If you have not, it would be civil in you to let your proclamations alone for the present; otherwise, you will ruin more torities by your grace and favour than you will whigs by your arms.

Were you to obtain possession of this city, you would not know what to do with it, more than to plunder it. To hold it, in the manner you hold New York, would be an additional dead weight upon your hands; and if a general conquest is your object, you had better be without the city than with it. When you have defeated all our armies, the cities will fall into your hands of themselves; but to creep into them in the manner you got into Princeton, Trenton, &c. is like robbing an orchard in the night, before the fruit be ripe, and running away in the morning. Your experiment in the Jerseys is sufficient to teach you that you have something more to do than barely to get into other people's houses; and your new converts, to whom you promised all manner of protection, and seduced into new guilt by pardoning them from their former virtues, must begin to have a very contemptible opinion both of your power and policy. Your authority in the Jerseys is now reduced to the small circle which your army occupies, and your proclamation is no where else seen, unless it be to be laughed at. The mighty subduers of the continent are retreated into a nutshell, and the proud forgivers of our sins, are fled from those they came to pardon; and all this at a time when they were dispatching vessel after vessel to England, with the great news of every day. In short, you have managed your Jersey expedition so very dextrously that the dead only are conquerors, because none will dispute the ground with them.

In all the wars you have formerly been concerned in, you had only armies to contend with; in this case, you have both an army and a country to combat with. In former wars, the countries followed the fate of their ca-

pitals; Canada fell with Quebec; and Minorca, with Port Mahon or St. Philips; by subduing those, the conquerors opened a way into, and became masters of the country: here it is otherwise; if you get possession of a city here, you are obliged to shut yourselves up in it, and can make no other use of it, than to spend your country's money in. This is all the advantage you have drawn from New York; and you would draw less from Philadelphia, because it requires more force to keep it, and is much farther from the sea. A pretty figure you and the tories would cut in this city, with a river full of ice, and a town full of fire; for the immediate consequence of your getting here would be, that you would be cannonaded out again, and the tories be obliged to make good the damage; and this, sooner or later, will be the fate of New York.

I wish to see the city saved, not so much from military, as from natural motives. 'Tis the hiding-place of women and children, and lord Howe's proper business is with our armies. When I put all the circumstances together which ought to be taken, I laugh at your notion of conquering America. Because you lived, in a little country, where an army might run over the whole in a few days, and where a single company of soldiers might put a multitude to the rout, you expected to find it the same here. It is plain that you brought over with you all the narrow notions you were bred up with, and imagined that a proclamation in the king's name was to do great things; but Englishmen always travel for knowledge, and your lordship, I hope, will return, if you return at all, much wiser than you came.

We may be surprised by events we did not expect, and in that interval of recollection you may gain some temporary advantage: such was the case a few weeks ago; but we soon ripen again into reason, collect our strength, and while you are preparing for a triumph, we come upon you with a defeat. Such it has been, and such it would be were you to try it an hundred times over. Were you to garrison the places you might march over, in order to secure their subjection, (for remember you can do it by no other means) your army would be like a

stream of water running to nothing. By the time you reached from New York to Virginia, you would be reduced to a string of drops not capable of hanging together; while we by retreating from state to state, like a river turning back upon itself, would acquire strength in the same proportion as you lost it, and in the end be capable of overwhelming you. The country in the mean time would suffer; but 'tis a day of suffering, and we ought to expect it. What we contend for is worthy the affliction we may go through. If we get but bread to eat, and any kind of raiment to put on, we ought, not only to be contented, but thankful. More than that we ought not to look for, and less than that, heaven has not yet suffered us to want. He that would sell his birth-right for a little salt, is as worthless as he who sold it for porridge without salt. And he that would part with it for a gay coat, or a plain coat, ought for ever to be a slave in buff. What are salt, sugar, and finery to the inestimable blessings of "liberty and safety?" Or what are the inconveniencies of a few months to the tributary bondage of ages? The meanest peasant in America, blessed with these sentiments, is a happy man, compared with a New York tory; he can eat his morsel without repining, and when he has done, can sweeten it with a repast of wholesome air: he can take his child by the hand and bless it, without feeling the conscious shame of neglecting a parent's duty.

In publishing these remarks, I have several objects in view. On your part, they are, to expose the folly of your pretended authority, as a commissioner—the wickedness of your cause in general—and the impossibility of your conquering us at any rate. On the part of the public, my meaning is, to shew them their true and solid interest; to encourage them to their own good; to remove the fears and falsties, which bad men had spread, and weak men had encouraged; and to excite in all men a love for union, and a cheerfulness for duty.

I shall submit one more case to you, respecting your conquest of this country, and then proceed to new observations.

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Suppose our armies in every part of the continent immediately to disperse, every man to his home, or where else he might be safe, and engage to re-assemble again on a certain future day. It is clear that you would then have no army to contend with ; yet you would be as much at a loss as you are now : you would be afraid to send your troops in parties over the continent, either to disarm, or prevent us from assembling, lest they should not return : and while you kept them together, having no army of ours to dispute with, you could not call it a conquest. You might furnish out a pompous page in the London Gazette, or the New York paper : but when we returned at the appointed time, you would have the same work to do you had at first.

It has been the folly of Britain to suppose herself more powerful than she really is, and by that means have arrogated to herself a rank in the world she is not entitled to : for more than this century past, she has not been able to carry on a war without foreign assistance. In Marlborough's campaigns, and from that day to this, the number of German troops and officers assisting her, have been about equal with her own. Ten thousand Hessians were sent to England last war, to protect her from a French invasion : and she would have cut but a poor figure in her Canadian and West Indian expeditions, had not America been lavish of her men and money to help her along. The only instance, in which she was engaged singly, that I can recollect, was against the rebellion in Scotland in forty-five and forty-six, and in that, out of three battles, she was twice beaten, till by thus reducing their numbers, (as we shall yours), and taking a supply ship, that was coming to Scotland, with clothes, arms, and money, (as we have often done) she was at last enabled to defeat them.

England was never famous by land. Her officers have generally been suspected of cowardice, have more of the air of a dancing master, than a soldier ; and by the sample we have taken prisoners, we begin to give the preference to ourselves. Her strength of late has laid in her extravagance : but as her finances and her credit are

now low, her sinews in that line begin to fail fast. As a nation, she is the poorest in Europe : for were the whole kingdom, and all that is in it, to be put up to sale, like the estate of a bankrupt, it would not fetch as much as she owes. Yet this thoughtless wretch must go to war, and with the avowed design, too, of making us beasts of burden, to support her in riot and debauchery, and to assist her afterwards in distressing those nations who are now our best friends. This ingratitude may suit a tory, or the unchristian peevishness of a fallen quaker, but none else.

'Tis the unhappy temper of the English, to be pleased with any war, right or wrong, be it but successful : but they soon grow discontented with ill fortune : and it is an even chance, that they are as clamorous for peace next summer, as the king and his ministers were for war last winter. In this natural view of things, your lordship stands in a very ugly, critical situation. Your whole character is flaked upon your laurels. If they wither, you wither with them. If they flourish, you cannot live long to look at them : and at any rate, the black account hereafter is not far off. What lately appeared to us misfortunes, were only blessings in disguise : and the seeming advantages on your side, have turned out to our profit. Even our loss of this city, as far as we can see, might be a principal gain to us. The more surface you spread over, the thinner you will be, and the easier wiped away : and our consolation, under that apparent disaster, would be, that the estates of the tories would be securities for the repairs. In short, there is no old ground we can fall upon, but some new foundation rises again to support us. "We have put, sir, our hands to the plough—and cursed be he that looketh back."

Your king, in his speech to parliament, last spring, declared to them, that "he had no doubt but the great force they had enabled him to send to America, would effectually reduce the rebellious colonies." It has not—neither can it. But it has done just enough, to lay the foundation of its own next year's ruin. You are sensible that you left England in a divided distracted state of politics, and, by the

command you had here, you became a principal prop in the court party : their fortunes rest on yours : by a single express, you can fix their value with the public, and the degree to which their spirits shall rise or fall. They are in your hands as stock, and you have the secret of the alley with you. Thus situated, and connected, you become the unintentional, mechanical instrument of your own and their overthrow. The king and his ministers put conquest out of doubt, and the credit of both depended on the proof. To support them in the interim, it was necessary that you should make the most of every thing : and we can tell by Hugh Gaine's New York paper, what the complexion of the London Gazette is. With such a list of victories, the nation cannot expect you will ask new supplies ; and to confess your want of them, would give the lie to your triumphs, and impeach the king and his ministers of treasonable deception. If you make the necessary demand at home, your party sinks : if you make it not, you sink yourself. To ask it now, is too late, and to ask it before, was too soon, and unless it arrive quickly, will be of no use. In short, the part you have to act, cannot be acted : and I am fully persuaded, that all you have to trust to, is, to do the best with what force you have got, or little more. Though we have greatly excelled you in point of generalship, and bravery of men, yet, as a people, we have not entered into the full soul of enterprize : for I, who know England, and the disposition of the people well, am confident, that it is easier for us to effect a revolution there, than you a conquest here. A few thousand men, landed in England, with the declared design of deposing the present king, bringing his ministers to trial, and setting up the duke of Gloucester in his stead, would assuredly carry their point, while you were groveling here ignorant of the matter. As I send all my papers to England, this, like Common Sense, will find its way there : and though it may put one party on their guard, it will inform the other, and the nation in general, of our design to help them.

Thus far, sir, I have endeavoured

to give you a picture of present affairs you may draw from it what conclusions you please. I wish as well to the true prosperity of England as you, but I consider independence as America's natural right and interest, and never could see any real disservice would be to Britain. If an English merchant receives an order, and is paid for it, it signifies nothing to him who governs the country. This is a creed of politics. If I have anywhere expressed myself over warmly it is from a fixt immovable hatred, and ever had, to cruel men and cruel measures. I have likewise an aversion to monarchy, as being too debasing to the dignity of man ; but I never troubled others with my notions till very lately, nor ever published a syllable in England in my life. What I write is pure nature, and my pen and my soul have ever gone together. My writings I have always given away, reserving only the expence of printing and paper, and sometimes not even that. I have never courted either fame or interest, and my manner of life, to those who know it, will justify what I say. My study is to be useful, and if your lordship love mankind as well as I do, you would, seeing you cannot conquer us, cast about and lend your hand towards accomplishing a peace. Our independence, with God's blessing, we will maintain against all the world ; but as we wish to avoid evil ourselves, we wish not to inflict it on others. I am never over inquisitive into the secrets of the cabinet, but I have some notion, if you neglect the present opportunity, that it will not be in our power to make a separate peace with you afterwards ; for whatever treaties or alliances we form, we shall most faithfully abide by ; wherefore you may be deceived, if you think you can make it with us at any time. A lasting independent peace is my wish, end, and aim ; and to accomplish that, " I pray God the Americans may never be defeated, and I trust while they have good officers, and are well commanded, and willing to be commanded, that they never will."

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, Jan. 13, 1777.

(To be continued.)

A Pindaric ode on friendship.—By Thomas Godfrey.

FRIENDSHIP! all hail! thou dearest tie,
 We mortals here below can claim,
 To blend our else unhappy lives with joy;
 My breast inspire,
 With thy true genuine fire,
 While to thy sacred name,
 I strike the golden lyre.

Cloth'd in pure, empyrean light,
 For vulgar eyes thou shin'st too bright:
 For while they gaze,
 Thy dazzling rays

Dim their too feeble light.
 But souls uncloy'd with sensual toys,
 Souls who seek true mental joys,
 May, phoenix-like, sublimely soar,
 May all thy heav'nly charms explore,
 And wanton in the glorious blaze,

O G * * * if now no charming maid
 Waits thy pencil's pow'rful aid,
 That when her charms shall fade away,
 And her pleasing form decay—
 That when her eyes no more shall roll,
 Or heaving sighs betray her soul—

 Still by thy art,
 The stubborn heart,
 To melt and into love betray—
 Attend! I sing that pow'r divine,
 Whose heav'nly influence sways such souls as thine,
 Souls, by virtue made the same,
 Friendship's pow'rful ties may claim:
 And happy they,
 Without allay,
 Blest in the gen'rous flame.

Thus in his tent immur'd,
 Thetis's angry son
 Forgot the laurels he had won;
 And whilst love's flames his bosom burn'd,
 His beauteous captive lost he mourn'd;
 And Ilium in his grief stood well secur'd;
 All Grecia's chiefs, dismay'd,
 Around him wait,
 And vainly supplicate his aid.
 Old Nestor's eloquence was vain,
 Ulysses' cunning could not gain
 The chief to draw his sword.
 In angry state,
 He sullen sate,
 Nor deign'd to give a word.

But when Patroclus' much-lov'd shade,
 Pale, with blood and dust array'd,
 Appear'd unto his view—
 Friendship fir'd his godlike breast,
 Conquer'd love the pow'r confess'd,
 And in a sigh withdrew.

Thus the ghost—
 “Attend, attend my call :
 “Let not the vaunting Trojans boast ;
 “But, oh ! revenge my fall !”
 With rage the hero's bosom glows,
 His blood in swifter current flows ;
 See, how his eye-balls roll !
 And speak the anguish of his soul :
 “Revenge, revenge,” Patroclus cry'd :
 Quick at the word,
 He seiz'd his sword,
 And clasp'd his sevenfold shield.
 “Revenge, revenge,” Pelides loud reply'd,
 And rush'd into the field.

Wild as the wind he went
 Through the astonish'd foe ;
 While Death, his sad concomitant,
 Attends each fatal blow.
 With heaps of slain,
 He strews the plain ;
 As when rough Boreas loudly blows,
 Huge oaks and lofty pines around he throws.
 Cowards revive when he appears,
 And banish from their breasts their fears ;
 Nor death can more affright :
 His presence ev'ry bosom warms,
 They clank with horrid din their arms,
 And with new courage fraught, renew the fight.
 Now shouts around,
 And dying cries,
 A horrid sound !
 Assail the skies ;
 And now the fainting Trojans yield
 The long-disputed honours of the field.

Round the field Achilles flies,
 For Hector he cries,
 At length the Trojan chief espies,
 Horribly glorious midst the war :
 Upon his bloody shield the god of day
 Darts pendant rays ;
 The crimson mirror far
 Reflects the blaze ;
 And all around him glories play.
 Patroclus' mantle loosely slung,
 The pledge of brave Achilles' love,
 And by the fair Ægina wove,
 Upon his manly shoulder hung.

The fatal spoil Achilles spies,
 And indignation lightn'd in his eyes.
 “For friendship this—for friendship this,” he said,
 And in his bosom drove the shining blade.
 Down the mighty Dardan fell,
 And in a groan expires ;
 Ill-fated Ilium gave a yell,
 And dreads her future fires.
 In vain all-beauteous Venus strove
 To ward the threatening blow ;

In vain she mov'd,
In vain he lov'd :
Those raging fires
And wild desires,
To friendship's purer flame must bow,
Though love, the sensual appetite,
Tumultuous rise a while,
Friendship yields a calm delight,
And will for ever smile.



The morning invitation. By N. Evans. A. M.

SEQUESTER'D from the city's noise,
Its tumults and fantastic toys,
Fair nymphs and swains retire,
Where Delaware's far-rolling tide
Majestic winds by Glo'ler's side,
Whose shades new joys inspire,

There Innocence and Mirth resort,
And round its banks the Graces sport,
Young Love, Delight, and Joy :
Bright blushing Health unlocks his springs,
Each grove around its fragrance flings,
With sweets that never cloy.

Soon as from out the orient main,
The sun ascends th' ethereal plain,
Bepearling ev'ry lawn—
Wild, warbling wood-notes float around,
While Echo doubles ev'ry sound,
To hail the gladsome dawn.

Now, Celia, with thy Chloe, rise,
Ye fair, unlock those radiant eyes,
Nor more the pillow press :
Now rise, and taste of vernal bliss,
Romantic dreams and sleep dismiss,
New joys your sense shall bless,

Whether along the velvet green,
Adorning all the sylvan scene,
The fair incline to stray—
Where lofty trees o'erthade the wave,
And zephyrs leave their sacred cave,
Along the streams to play :

There lovely views the river crown,
Woods, meadows, ships, yon spiry town,
Where wit and beauty reign ;
Where Chloe's and fair Celia's charms
Fill many a youth with love's alarms,
Sweet pleasure mix'd with pain :

Or whether o'er the fields ye trip,
At yon salubrious fount to sip,
Immur'd in darksome shade—

Around whose sides magnolias bloom,
Whose silver blossoms deck the gloom,
And scent the spicy glade.

These are Aurora's rural sweets—
Fresh dew-drops, flow'rs, and green retreats,
Perfume the balmy air :
Rise, then, and greet the new-born day ;
Rise, fair ones, join the linnet's lay,
And nature's pleasures share.

So shall gay health pour cheeks adorn,
With blushes sweeter than the morn,
And fresh as early day :
And then, that Glo'ster is the place,
To add to beauty's brightest grace,
The world around shall say.



*Eulogy.—Inscribed to mrs. * * * * **

A Muse, who ne'er to flattery strung the lyre,
Nor truth infrin'g'd, false flavour to inspire,
Whose soul, superior to a sordid fate,
No arts can practise to improve its state,
To merit renders what is merit's due,
And bows to * * * * *, fairest of the few,
Whose forms are beauteous, and whose hearts are true.
'Tis not that fortune's richest gifts are thine,
'Tis not that grace and beauty bid thee shine
At once the most admir'd and envy'd fair,
Possess'd of all that claims ambition's care—
These are th' advantages of chance or art ;
But thine's a nobler boast, the feeling heart,
Where sweet benevolence maintains her court,
To which the virtues and the loves resort ;
Where friendship ministers her sov'reign will,
And charity provides for ev'ry ill—
Where conjugal affection warmly glows,
And each fond wish a mother's bosom knows—
Where filial piety's with pride confess'd,
And each lov'd sister's by a sister blest'd—
Where hospitality's strong welcome greets,
And gives civility its choicest sweets—
Where tend'rest treatment cheers the menial train,
And takes from servitude its galling chain :
Virtues like these the muse must e'er admire ;
To sing such merit truth has strung the lyre.

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Foreign Intelligence.

LONDON, June 30.

ON the 26th of June the Turkish fleet, consisting of 57 ships of the line, appeared off the entrance of Boristhenes. The Turkish fortrefs, Oxacow, stands on the western side of the river; the Russian fortrefs, Kinburn, lies nearly opposite to it on the eastern shore.

The prince of Nassau, commander in chief of the Russian fleet, with vice admiral Paul Jones, as his second, lay at anchor under the guns of Kinburn, waiting for the Turks, who seemed disposed to attack them. The sea ran very high, and the wind was strong on the Russian shore. The old Turkish admiral, under these disadvantages, had the madness to enter the mouth of the river. The Russian commanders suffered him to take this step without molestation; but no sooner were the Turks completely embayed, than the prince of Nassau and his colleague began to move.

The firing on both sides at the first onset was tremendous; but for want both of skill and discipline, the largest ships of the Turkish fleet, presently ran aground, particularly the ships of the Turkish admiral and vice admiral.

The Russian squadron now grappled with the Turks. The conflict was dreadful, the batteries on the shore, as well as the ships, all joining in the fight. The Turks defended themselves with astonishing resolution; but very few of their ships could gain the Black Sea.---Some ran for shelter under the guns of Oczakow. The capital ship, on board of which were the Turkish admiral and vice-admiral, and three other ships of the line, were blown up. The old captain pacha escaped in a small boat. Many of the smaller vessels were driven on shore, and the whole fleet was entirely separated. The Russians got possession of the admiral's flag, and have taken 4000 prisoners.

Two encampments are ordered by the French cabinet for the 15th of September; one in Alsace, the other in the celebrated plains of Lens, in Picardy. The troops are to remain

encamped six weeks. What may be the object of these encampments we know not; report says that they are solely for the purpose of training the troops in the new exercise adopted by the *conseil de guerre*. We have only to remark, that camps are necessarily attended with extraordinary and heavy expences, and that, without some very solid reason, the French ministers would not subject the treasury to them in the present disordered state of the finances of the country.

July 11. The last arret published by the French king is very strong and decisive; it says, "That if any subject, or body of subjects, shall presume to present a remonstrance relative to the parliaments, he or they shall forfeit all their real and personal estate, and be deprived of all rank and honour."

American Intelligence.

PITTSBURGH, SEPTEMBER 20.

A letter from a gentleman at Mufkingum, to his friend in this town, dated September 11, says "An express has just arrived here from the falls of Ohio, with an account, that lieutenant Peters, with a party of thirty men, going down the river, had been attacked by the Indians, and unfortunately had eight men killed and ten wounded."

NEW-YORK, SEPTEMBER 25.

A correspondent observes, that having been present while the supreme court was sitting in Suffolk county (Long-Island) he conceives it but justice to the peaceable and virtuous inhabitants of that county, thus to make known, that there was not a single indictment by the grand jury, and that there was but one cause tried at the court during their session.

PHILADELPHIA, SEPT. 9.

The following is a narrative of the damage done by a hurricane in the island of Martinico, on the 14th ult.

At 9 o'clock in the morning of August 14th, the wind being north-east, the clouds began to collect, the atmosphere to darken, the wind to rise accompanied with heavy showers, which are almost sure presages of a de-

destructive hurricane. But at 12, the weather moderated, and the sea became much smoother, which considerably allayed the apprehensions of the inhabitants. This flattering appearance lasted not long. It seemed as if this cessation of the elements only served for the purpose of collecting their powers to one point, in order to rage the more uncontrolled; for about three o'clock, the wind shifted suddenly to the north, and blew with astonishing fury. The scene now began to be truly distressing. The shipping in the harbour got under way as soon as possible, some by slipping, others by parting their cable, except two, which were both cast away before eight in the evening. Three of the fleet that went out, were cast away by ten o'clock in Fort Royal Bay. Two French frigates which lay in that safe basin, the *Carnash*, drove from their anchors, with the loss of their rudders. The remaining part of the fleet returned to St. Pierre, the second and third day after the storm, except seven, which it is supposed went to Point Petre—they had lost all their cables, anchors, and boats. But those that returned, received no material damage, except the loss of a boat, a cable, or an anchor.

The wind hauled by degrees round to the westward, blowing hard all the time. At eight o'clock at night, it was N. W. and moderate for half an hour, but instantly shifting to the S. W. blew heavy again. By nine, it hauled to S. S. W. and came on with more than redoubled fury. The scene which had been distressing, was now terrible in the extreme—the heavens appeared to be in one continual glare by lightning—rain poured down as if from sluices—the wind raging as if it were its last effort—and the earth trembling under the appalling inhabitants, from the shock of an earthquake.

About twelve o'clock, the tempest abated, and the morning presented such a scene of devastation as was never remembered before. Not a single vessel could be perceived in the harbour of St. Pierre; large quantities of floating timber covered the whole bay, the worth of which was estimated three or four thousand joes—very little of it was saved, as all the boats

were either lost or damaged—quantities of it were washed over the walls, from the sea, but are bruised and broken to pieces, from the violence of the waves.

The streets in the town were almost impassible, from the quantity of timber, &c. blown from the roofs of houses.

The damage done in the country is incredible. All the north part of the island is nearly laid waste. The town of Trinity is almost level with the ground. On that part of the island from that town, round to the N. N. W. part, there is scarcely a house or tree standing. A house sixty feet square, and one story high, was carried off its foundation to the distance of one hundred yards. Two white women were buried in the ruin, and a young lady, endeavouring to make her escape, on perceiving the house in motion, was carried by the strength of the wind against a stone wall, by which melancholy accident she had both her legs broken. The negro houses that stood about two hundred rods from the house, were entirely swept off, and thirty or forty negroes lost their lives. The rest of the plantations suffered much in like manner, according to their numbers.

The young canes were twisted off close to the ground by the fury of the wind, and it is thought, entirely ruined. The negro food is almost totally destroyed; such as potatoes, yams, cassada, plantains, &c. The planters say, that this hurricane exceeds the one that was in the year 1766. The loss of their negroes, canes, &c. is far more considerable than was ever known before.

The merchants and planters petitioned the commander in chief, praying that some measures might be taken to alleviate their sufferings. The next day he ordered all the ports in the island to be opened for American produce, except the articles heretofore prohibited, free from duty, only the island duty, which is one per cent. This had effect from the 20th ult. and is to continue till the 1st January, 1789.

Several estimates have been made of the losses sustained, and the lives that were lost by this dreadful hurricane, and it is generally agreed that

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there were between 6 and 700 lives lost, black and white—and that the whole loss in town and country, is 10,000,000 livres.

Whatever has a tendency to enlarge the sphere of human action, deserves the fostering care of every enlightened State. It is therefore with pleasure we inform the lovers of science and the useful arts, that the ingenious Mr. Rumsey, who is now in Europe soliciting exclusive rights for his several inventions and improvements, has been honoured with the esteem and support of gentlemen in England of distinguished reputation in the scientific world. We rejoice the more at those marks of attention to American genius, as they go far to prove the worth of Mr. Rumsey's talents, and afford an happy preface of honour and advantage to his native country.

Among the objects which have successfully engaged the abilities of this ingenious man, are—

1. A boat, or vessel, acted on by steam, and propelled by forcing the water through a wooden trunk, or pipe, laid on a kelson. This boat requires neither masts, rigging, sails, oars, cranks nor paddles; and has been actually propelled with half its loading on board, four miles an hour, against the current of the Potomack river. It is light and simple, and may be built at a moderate expence. Where the rivers, like many in America, are unaided by the tides, and have rapid currents, this construction will appear to be singularly useful, by performing the passage in a given time, reducing the freight of goods, and promoting intercourse among the citizens, in a convenient, cheap, and easy manner.

2. A new invented saw-mill, moved without wheels of any kind, requiring but about the twentieth part of the water used for a common saw-mill, and which may be supplied either from a stream, a pond or well. It is cheap and powerful.

3. A new boiler for generating steam, in the most convenient manner for nautical, mechanical, and hydraulic purposes. This is confessedly superior to any hitherto discovered, and may be applied to most kinds of mills and machines, at a comparatively trifling expence.

4. An improvement of Savery's admired mode of raising and conducting water—Of important utility in agriculture and certain manufactories.

5. An improvement on Dr. Barker's mill—Dr. Barker was a fellow of the Royal Society in London; and near half a century ago, first suggested the principles of this machine, but he was never able to perfect it—Being examined with anxious, yet fruitless solicitude for its completion by many learned societies in Europe—the plan was at last abandoned to the books alone, as a monument of the doctor's ingenuity—till lately, when the genius of a Rumsey discovered the right application of its principles. The mechanism of this mill is beautifully simple; the principles are strictly philosophical; and its powers are uncommonly great—A third or fourth part of the water now ordinarily required to turn a grist-mill, is sufficient by this mode of applying its weight and force to turn any grist-mill or other machine requiring the truest circular motion—The same powers will equally well apply to grist, saw, sugar, and most other mills; to rice machines, indigo works, and cotton gins—The water for this mill may be taken either from a natural stream, a pond, or a well.

Models of the boiler, water-works and mills are now in this city; and we learn with pleasure that the latter hath repeatedly performed, to the admiration and entire satisfaction of many respectable characters who attended the experiments.

On Friday, the 8th of August last, a party of armed men, consisting of thirty-one, under the command of captain John Fain, left Houston station, on Nine-Mile-Creek, and crossed the river Tenessee, about eight or nine miles distant, in order to gather apples in the vicinity of an Indian town called Cutico, lately abandoned by the Cherokees. The Indians suffered them to pass the river unmolested, and immediately, unperceived by our people, took possession of the ford they had crossed, likewise another at a small distance above. By this time some of our people were in the orchard, and some on the trees gathering fruit, when they were suddenly attacked by a body of the savages, on all quarters. This sudden and unex-

pested alarm threw them into the utmost confusion, so that every man, who did not immediately fall, endeavoured to make a retreat; but the savages being in possession of the fording places, a number took the river, and, whilst endeavouring to escape, by swimming, several were killed and wounded; the latter were pursued, and most of them fell a sacrifice to savage barbarity.

The following is a list of the unfortunate men killed and wounded:—

KILLED—John Fain, captain; Caleb Jones, Joseph Alexander, Van Piercefield, William Lang, Jonathan Dean, John Brannon, William English, John Medlock, Robert Huston, George Mathews, Isaac Anderson, Charles Payne, Luther Johnston, Hermon Gregg, George Buly.

WOUNDED—Elisha Haddon, John Kirk, Thomas Brown,—— Bullock.

September 21. Western intelligence as late as August 15, informs, that a party of 40 men, under the command of major Thomas Stuart, having unguardedly crossed the Tenahee, at Chota ford, were, on reaching the further bank, attacked by a large body of Indians, supposed to be between one and two hundred. Our people fired several times, but being overpowered by numbers, they endeavoured to retreat back across the river; the Indians by this time had got in their rear, and such as escaped had to ride through a heavy fire, in the river and on the higher bank. Our loss is great, upwards of 20 are yet missing, and several wounded; among the killed is young Kirk, who was so active against the Indians since the commencement of the present disturbances. Col. Anthony Bledsoe was killed on Cumberland river, by a small party of marauding Indians.

For the encouragement of American literature and genius, it is resolved by the corporation of Providence college, that a particular part of the library room shall be appropriated for the purpose of depositing the works of American authors.

In the new jail at Chelmsford, in England, there are now constructing different cells for solitary imprisonment. Eight are already built; thirty-two are to be added. In each there

is a wooden receptacle for a bed, an iron basin for water, a chain in the middle of the floor, which is to be fastened to the prisoner's leg, and the light is to be let in from the top only of window. Three times a day they are to be visited by the turnkey, who is to bring their necessary bread; and beyond that—all human intercourse is to be denied them.

A letter from L'Orient, dated July 17, says, "In this unfortunate and unhappy country we cannot depend upon any thing. The king is now at war with his subjects, and there are many regiments of infantry that have refused to serve him against their country. The peasantry begin to collect in formidable bodies, and have offered a large reward for the head of the intendant of the city of Rennes, who has had the good luck to escape."

"Every thing at present seems to have a melancholy aspect; the minds of the people are much irritated. This has continued these three months, and we do not know when or how it will end. Thus we behold the consequences of a bad administration!"

We learn that the Indians at Niagara are so jealous and troublesome, as to render the situation of the settlers there extremely uncomfortable and dangerous. Grain is plenty, but there is no market, for want of any tolerable cheap way of getting it down to a seaport.

Captain Thomas Reed, in the ship Alliance, bound to China, sailed from Philadelphia in the month of June 1787, and arrived at Canton the 22d day December in the same year, having navigated in a route as yet unpractised by any other ship. Taking soundings off the Cape of Good Hope, he steered to the south-eastward, encircling all the eastern and southern islands of the Indian Ocean, passing the South Cape of New Holland: and on their passage northward again towards Canton, between the latitude of 7 and 4 degrees south, and between the longitude of 156 and 169 degrees east, they discovered a number of islands, the inhabitants of which were black, with curled or woolly hair:—among these islands, they had no soundings. About the lat. of 8 deg. north, and in the latitude of 160 de-

grees east, the islands inhabited with straight and appeared much cultivated. Our of the company were the first they named Alliance island. any of them made in the

The office in China vessel arrived year, and examined the In coast had the wind and blowing of rain.

They finished again in of September by the use of ships, until Ocean.

September for holding presentative lectors of states, was elections. Wednesday are of voting fellows, taken at from every mode of house of thought, have been the constitution.

This day this company William esquires, in the Pennsylvania in this re-landed at state.

We have a number of tians in telling the use out of who are

greese east, they discovered two other islands inhabited by a brown people, with straight black hair. These islands appeared to be very fertile and much cultivated; and by the behaviour of the inhabitants, the ship's company were induced to believe they were the first discoverers; one of them they named Morris island, the other Alliance island. They did not land on any of them. These discoveries were made in the month of November.

The officers of the European ships in China were astonished to find a vessel arriving at that season of the year, and with eagerness and pleasure examined the track of their voyage.

In coasting near New Holland, they had the winds generally from S. W. and blowing strong, with a great deal of rain.

They finished their voyage by arriving again at Philadelphia on the 17th of September 1788, having returned by the usual route of the European ships, until they were in the Atlantic Ocean.

September 30. This day, the bill for holding the election for eight representatives in congress, and ten electors of a president of the united states, was enacted into a law. The elections are to be held on the last Wednesday of November. The elections are to be at the usual places of voting for assemblymen and counsellors, and the candidates are to be taken at the option of the voters, from every part of the state. This mode of electing the members of the house of representatives, it was thought, was the only one that could have been adopted, without violating the constitution of the united states.

This day the general assembly of this commonwealth elected the hon. William Maclay and Robert Morris, esquires, representatives for this state in the federal senate. Every Pennsylvanian must feel a high satisfaction in this respectable representation of the landed and commercial interests of this state.

We hear that the methodists (now a numerous and growing sect of christians in America) have borne a strong testimony in their late meetings against the use of spiritous liquors, and that out of near forty thousand persons who are in union with them, there is

not a single man who carries on, or is concerned in, those manufactories of liquid fire, commonly called distilleries.

A letter from Hillsborough, North-Carolina, dated August 7, says, "General Martin marches the 20th inst. with the olive branch in one hand, and a strong detachment of the Holstein militia (that is to say) the sword in the other, against the Chickamawgee towns—Another detachment goes from Kentucky, at the same time, to act in conjunction with him; so that there is a great probability of exterminating those implacable pests to society this fall."



By the united states in congress assembled, September 13, 1788.

Whereas the convention assembled in Philadelphia, pursuant to the resolution of congress of the 21st February, 1787, did, on the 17th of September in the same year, report to the united states in congress assembled, a constitution for the people of the united states; whereupon congress on the 28th of the same September, did resolve unanimously, "That the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention made and provided in that case:" And whereas the constitution so reported by the convention, and by congress transmitted to the several legislatures, has been ratified in the manner therein declared to be sufficient for the establishment of the same, and such ratifications duly authenticated have been received by congress, and are filed in the office of the secretary—therefore,

Resolved, That the first Wednesday in January next, be the day for appointing electors, in the several states, which before the said day shall have ratified the said constitution; that the first Wednesday in February next, be the day for the electors to assemble in their respective states, and vote for a president; and that the first Wednesday in March next, be the time, and the present seat of congress the place for commencing proceedings under the said constitution.

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